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Out of the abundance of the heart : Sarah Ann Parker Remond's quest for freedom/

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OUT OF THE ABUNDANCE OF THE HEART:

SARAH ANN PARKER REMOND'S QUEST FOR FREEDOM

A Dissertation Presented

by

SIBYL VENTRESS BROWNLEE

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Department of History

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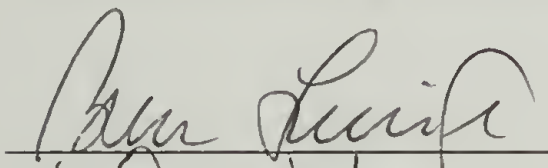

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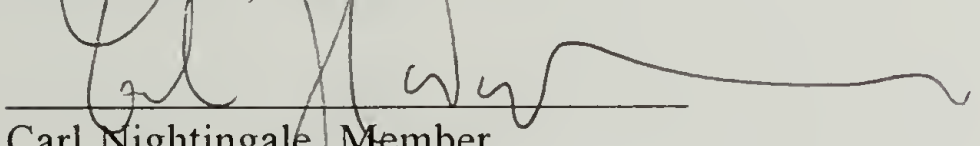

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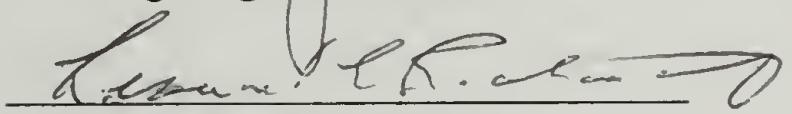

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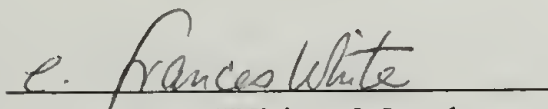

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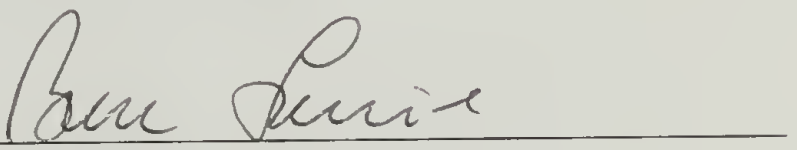

Bruce Laurie, Department Head
Department of History

To my mother
Rosemary Stewart Ventress
1922 - 1991

"More exquisite than any other is the autumn rose."
Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigne

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Many voices were combined to bring this project together. Librarians, archivists, historians, colleagues, family and friends all lent their support to my work. I am most grateful to my advisor, Bruce Laurie, for his encouragement, support and total involvement in this project. From his seminars, to his research projects, he has enhanced my awareness of resources and helped me believe in myself and the importance of my efforts. There are no words that can adequately express my gratitude. Other members of my committee also contributed much to my learning experience. Carl Nightingale spent many hours discussing historical readings. I appreciate his enthusiasm and interest in this subject.

The example of E. Francis White, her writings, and academic success have been an inspiration. She graciously consented to work with me and has given invaluable support. My first academic experience at the University of Massachusetts was an independent study directed by Leo Richards. He encouraged me to pursue research on African-American women abolitionists. It was that experience that introduced me to Sarah P. Remond and created a desire to know more about her.

My thanks to the University of Massachusetts Office of Minority Recruitment for the University fellowship which helped me get started. Additional thanks to the history department for nominating me for the award.

Many reference librarians and archivists assisted me with my research. The staff of the American Antiquarian Society, particularly those who manage the newspaper collection, helped make the many hours I spent there more fruitful. The Newport Historical Society produced previously untapped sources of information. The assistance of the staff there was timely and enthusiastic. The Massachusetts Historical Society located a "carte de visite" of Sarah Parker Remond and has given me permission to reproduce it. I must thank the librarians at Fitchburg State College, particularly those in interlibrary loan for their help in obtaining resources. Thanks to the efforts of Bruce Laurie, the W. E. B. DuBois Library at the University of Massachusetts acquired a microfilm collection which contained a wealth of information related to this project.

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Last, but certainly not least, my family deserves a huge thank you. My grandparents and parents, Sib and Rosemary Ventress, recognized the value of education and encouraged us to pursue the highest degree possible. Mom, I wish you were here to share this moment with me. To my sisters, Beryl Smith and Debbie Vanderberg, and my brother Sib Ventress, III, thank you for your moral support; to my son, Richard and grandson, Jordan, thank you for your love. To "Miss Rikki" and Dana, your support means a lot to me. To my husband, Charles, and daughter, Janelle (Missy), thank you for your patience, understanding and encouragement. The past three years have had their rough times, but we survived (TYJ).

"I thank you for your voices, thank you,
Your most sweet voices."
Shakespeare. Coriolanus, Act II, Scene III.

ABSTRACT

OUT OF THE ABUNDANCE OF THE HEART:

SARAH ANN PARKER REMOND'S QUEST FOR FREEDOM

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In nineteenth-century New England, Sarah Remond was one of many who distinguished themselves as ardent supporters of freedom and justice as members of the abolitionist movement. Although her name is less familiar, her contributions were most significant. This dissertation examines the role Sarah Remond played in the abolitionist movement. One of a few African-American female lecturers, she made her greatest contributions to the cause in the British Isles. Going beyond moral issues of slavery and immediate emancipation, Remond was also aware of the larger problems affecting all people of color in the United States; problems of prejudice and discrimination.

This work examines the circumstances in Sarah Remond's life that contributed to her views and influenced her actions. It provides evidence of the impact of prejudice and discrimination on Remond's decisions. Additionally, it

chronicles the Salem, Massachusetts, community and her family's influence there. The Remond family was a cohesive unit, bound by a spirit of enterprise and a strong sense of the rights of individuals which was kept alive for three generations. The family also embraced a strong activist tradition that reached beyond the confines of their immediate surroundings.

Remond accepted an invitation to lecture in the British Isles in the late 1850s. Her arrival there came at a time when English interest in American slavery had waned. However, Sarah Remond's oratorical skills drew attention. Her use of feminist/familial arguments garnered support from British women. Remond's impact on the British abolitionist movement, and the contacts she made while residing there, are also studied.

There were others who added their voices to the abolitionist cause, some of whom were Remond's models and contemporaries. They are also reviewed here in light of Remond's life circumstances and contributions to abolitionism.

This work describes the life of Sarah Remond and her participation in a reform movement directed at abolishing slavery. It reflects on the effects of familial activism and cohesion on the choices she made in life. It chronicles her separation from patriarchal institutions represented in Antebellum American social and family life.

FIGURE 1
SARAH PARKER REMOND
Permission of Massachusetts Historical Society

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INTRODUCTION

The Gospel of Matthew 12:34 reads, "out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh."[1] In a letter informing a "friend" of her impending trip to England, Sarah Parker Remond used this biblical quote to explain why she had devoted so much of her letter to the evils of slavery and lack of equality for free African-Americans. From childhood through adolescence, her experiences as a free African-American female helped to define the path she followed as an adult. In order to come into her own, many restraints had to be removed from her path. While there was an overwhelming desire to work on behalf of abolition, Remond found that shackles were not confined to slavery. Familial priorities and social constraints also created needs for personal freedom which resonate throughout her speeches and her actions.

Three freedoms are discussed in this work: Remond's campaign for equal rights for free blacks, her undaunting efforts to seek support for the emancipation of slaves, and, her personal need to distance herself from patriarchal institutions reflected in antebellum American society and her own family structure.

There are a significant number of works which mention Sarah Remond in one context or another. However, none presents a comprehensive picture of her life and those who inspired her. The late Dorothy Porter pioneered research on the Remond family and Sarah in particular. She labored to place this family in a prominent place in American social history. "The Remonds of Salem, Massachusetts: A Nineteenth-Century Family Revisited"concentrates on the

achievements of family members and their significant contributions to the Salem, Massachusetts community. Because it is an overview of the entire family, this work lacks an analysis of Sarah Remond's particular importance to the antislavery effort. Dorothy Porter has uncovered many primary sources on the Remonds through her articles and editing work on the Black Abolitionist Papers. Her research is important because it provides a starting point for discovering new sources of information on Sarah and her family.

Other historians have included Sarah Remond either as part of a general work on female abolitionists, or as the main focus of articles. Oliver Horton studies Remond's actions in the context of prevailing gender and class expectations. In Black Bostonians, he concentrates on Remond's public life and her interest in the welfare of fugitive slaves. Horton misidentifies Sarah as the wife of Charles Lenox Remond (her brother). In so doing, he attributes some of Amy Matilda Remond's activism to Sarah. Nevertheless, Horton's emphasis on Sarah's more radical activities along with his class analysis of African-American women's activism, reveal Remond's actions as uncommon given her class affiliation.

In Black Women Abolitionists, Shirley Yee also considers Remond's role as a lecturer in light of gender expectations within the black community. Citing a strong desire on the part of the black men to recreate white social norms in their community, Yee posits that Remond operated outside that context. She also examines the supportive role that black men played in an effort to have as many voices as possible pleading for the rights of the race, correctly determining that

Sarah's brother, Charles, supported her efforts.[2] Most of the opposition Yee reports occurred prior to Sarah Remond's entry on the lecture circuit. However, some attitudes about women in public life died hard in the African-American community, especially amongst the elder Remond's generation. While Yee's study is an important contribution to our knowledge of the many African American women who worked for abolitionism, and while it touches on many areas of Remond's life, it does not provide a comprehensive study of her.

Much of the biographical information in Yee's book can be found in Dorothy Sterling's We Are Your Sisters, which Shirley Yee quotes extensively. Sterling's book is a compilation of primary documents accompanied by biographical sketches of the women included in the anthology. It provides invaluable source information for more indepth research. We Are Your Sisters was not intended to give complete biographical information on the women Sterling researched. It does, however, provide a comprehensive chronology of the accomplishments and contributions of nineteenth-century African-American women. It is also contains a rich bibliography, an invaluable source for additional research. With the exception of Dorothy Porter's work, the aforementioned texts include Sarah Remond as part of a larger work or anthology, rarely giving her more than a paragraph or two. In contrast, Ruth Bogin's article, "Sarah Parker Remond: Black Abolitionist from Salem," which was published in Essex Institute Historical Collection, is devoted entirely to Remond. Bogin chronicles Remond's antislavery work in America and England. She also examines the role of females in the abolitionist

movement. This article was the first to mention Remond's life in Italy. Even so, many details about early influences and British contacts are missing.

More recent scholarship has captured additional information about Sarah Remond's years in England. This is to be expected since the most comprehensive information we have about Remond can be found in British newspapers. R. J. M. Blackett has explored the efforts of African Americans involved in the abolitionist movement abroad. His book, Building an Antislavery Wall, chronicles the activities of black Americans in Britain from 1830 to 1860. Blackett articulates the impact of African Americans on their British hosts, concluding that these black American visitors were effective spokespersons for the abolitionist cause. The book's main emphasis is on men, because women, especially black women, were less prone to travel great distances from home. Sarah Remond is part of this study. However, she receives minute attention considering the length of her stay in the British Isles. Blackett does present many facets of black activism in Britain, noting that there was not always agreement among those activists. His work is important not only because of its concentration on African American activists in the British Isles, but also because it places Sarah Remond in a different light. This work clearly shows that she pioneered African-American women's activism.

Seymour Drescher's work on British Antislavery provides detailed information on the foundation of the British Abolitionist movement. His Capitalism and Antislavery focuses on the intervention of political power in the abolition of slavery. Of importance to this work is the anti-black sentiment present in British

society as early as the sixteenth century. The British controlled colonies where slavery thrived, and did not tolerate the presence of blacks at home. The fear that colonial masters would bring their chattel with them led to restrictions on black immigration and attempts to expel those Africans who had already settled in Britain.[3] Also of importance is the impact of religion on the abolitionist movement in England. Once slaves were seen as fellow Christians, it was harder to sanction the practice of owning another human being. The scarcity of people of African descent in Great Britain, coupled with the view that Christianity made slaves their "fellows," created an atmosphere that created a positive climate for African Americans who went to England to plead the case of American slaves. While Drescher's study does not mention Sarah Remond, it creates vital background for analyzing her success in the British Isles.

Howard Temperly concentrates on the years when American abolitionists frequented the British Isles. His work traces British support for American abolitionists from the height of participation in the 1830s to the waning years of the 1850s. Temperly details the influence ideological splits amongst American abolitionists had on the British movement. He explains that the wedge that was driven between the two sides effectively weakened British participation and interest in the American cause, especially among British men. Temperly makes the important point that as political issues which had engaged men in the eighteen-thirties and forties declined, women became the major force in British abolitionist activity. They soon outnumbered men in British antislavery societies. The

significance of female participation and interest in American abolitionism becomes clear as Temperly writes of the arrival of Sarah Remond and her ability to attract an audience.

Clare Midgley's Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns 1780 - 1870, elaborates on Temperly's point. This work is devoted entirely to British women's participation in the anti-slavery effort. Midgeley also links the divisions in the British movement to the ideological differences in the American movement. She reveals that most women tended to consider themselves Garrisonians, but goes on to observe that class played in that choice. Strong support came from areas outside London, in working class areas of Lancashire, Leicester, and southern Scotland. Midgeley also attributes the increase in women's activity to the decline in men's participation.[4]

While Temperly's study mentions Sarah Remond's acceptance by British audiences, his work ends at the point of her arrival. Midgley devotes considerable time to Sarah Remond and her impact on women in the abolitionist movement. She also credits Remond with creating the avenue for reconciliation between opposing male antislavery groups in the Isles. This book gives the most comprehensive insight into Remond's British years and provides a bridge to Sarah's life in Italy by revealing her connection with Italian nationalists. Midgley's analysis of the organizations Remond was associated with, along with her descriptions of Remond's British contemporaries, reveals that Sarah Remond attracted the attention

of those who had a radical bent. We also gain knowledge of Remond's non-leeture activities, such as her work with the London Female Emancipation Soeiety.

All of the aforementioned works eontribute to our knowledge about Sarah Parker Remond and her family. However, they only provide pieees of her life. She has not been the primary focus of any scholarly works to date. This dissertation studies Sarah Remond's life in detail, from the people and places that influenced her early deeisions, to her role in the Ameriean and British abolitionist movements. In order to fully understand Sarah Remond, it is necessary to examine her family baekground and the surroundings in whieh she was nurtured. Therefore, a portion of this writing is devoted to studying her family and the Salem African American community.

Chapter One studies the evolution of Salem, Massachusetts blaek eommunity from Colonial through post Revolutionary times. It eoncentrates on John Remond's arrival as an immigrant in the area, and his subsequent active involvement in the political, economic and social improvement of the African-American eommunity. Using William Bentley's Diary as a guide, the ehapter ehronicles the aetivities of individuals and organizations founded by and for Salem's black eitizens.

The second chapter delves into John Remond's ehildhood and the influenees that created this enterprising man. Through extensive researeh of Salem's newspapers, it was possible to reconstruct ups and downs in the Remond's business dealings. The chapter also studies the influenee Remond and his wife, Naney, had on their eight children. Both parents were active participants in organizations

designed for the betterment of the black community. They were also well respected and successful business partners. A portrait of incredible family loyalty and stability emerges.

In chapter three a clearer picture of Sarah Remond develops, concentrating on her experiences from early childhood through the teen years. Many of those events had an impact on her future choices. Encounters with discrimination and prejudice cemented in her a desire to correct the inequalities in American society. Circumstances surrounding her school years and the actions her parents took to address them, created a lasting effect on her life. Her family's, particularly that of her brother Charles, activities during her formative years greatly influenced her, eventually leading her to become an antislavery lecturer. This chapter chronicles the events that led to her public activism.

Chapter Four follows Sarah's story across the Atlantic as an antislavery lecturer in 1859. When she left for the British Isles, she stated that she wanted to experience freedom, at least for a while. She also used this opportunity to continue the schooling which was largely unavailable to her in the United States. Her British campaign is well-documented in English newspapers and in The Liberator. Though she spent many more years in Italy than she did in England, information on those years is scanty and confined largely to letters from American artists and abolitionists who either lived in, or visited Florence and Rome between 1867 and 1886. This chapter covers her activities from 1859 until her death in 1894, concentrating on her British years.

The final chapter provides a context for Sarah Remond's activism in light of other African-American women of her time. Beginning with female activists of the 1830s, the chapter studies the different forms of activism. It explores the question of what, if anything, set Sarah Remond apart from her contemporaries. Of particular interest in this analysis is the activism of her two closest counterparts, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. How did women of similar age and backgrounds find such divergent, yet similar ways to fight against slavery and discrimination? It also explores the concept of community uplift in African-American women's activism. Finally the chapter examines the reasons Remond decided to become an expatriate.

This small contribution to the understanding the life of Dr. Sarah Parker Remond is only a beginning in the study of African-American women in the Northeast and their contribution to American society. There is much more to be discovered about Sarah and her family. The Italian years still remain largely a mystery. The lack of personal papers for Sarah and her family made this project difficult, yet intriguing. As each new tidbit of information revealed itself, another piece in the puzzle emerged; some parts, however, are still blank. This work provides another example of the saliency of race in America and its impact on the life of Dr. Sarah Parker Remond.

NOTES

1. The Open Bible (Nelson Publishers, 1977), p. 899.

2. Shirley J. Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828 - 1860 (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee, 1992), pp. 113-14.

3. Seymour Drescher, Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1986), p. 15.

4. Clare Midgley, Women Against Slavery: The British Campaign 1780 - 1870, (London: Routledge, 1992), page 125.

CHAPTER 1

THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN SALEM:

THE SEARCH FOR A BEGINNING

In September 1798, the brigantine *Six Brothers,* captained by John Needham, sailed into Salem harbor from the West Indies. On board was a young boy of African and Dutch descent. Customs records describe the child as "Vonreman, age 10, height 4'5, from Curacao, complexion black."[1] John Remond (the name given to him by the Needhams) may have been as old as twelve when he arrived at Salem.[2] As he adjusted to his new surroundings under the care of Captain Needham's brother, the baker Isaac, what might he have encountered, and what did he learn of the people of African descent who had been in Salem for more than one-hundred-fifty years? That history is explored here.

While there are no documentary histories of African-Americans in Salem, a number of sources trace their presence back to the seventeenth century. One-hundred-sixty-one years before Remond's arrival in Salem harbor, Captain Pierce of the Salem ship *Desire*, was commissioned to transport seventeen captive Pequods to Bermuda to be sold as slaves. The Pequods made it as far as Providence Island, where Pierce left them before heading for the Tortugas. He returned to Salem eight months later, on February 26, 1638 "with a cargo of cotton, tobacco, salt and negroes."[3] This account is the first record of the arrival of blacks in New England. African presence in Salem is also documented in the Essex County Marriage Records of 1659, which include the marriage of "former slaves" Moninah and

Mongaley.[4] In another historical event, the Salem Witch Trials of 1692, four local blacks were accused of witchcraft, the most renowned being Tituba, a slave from Barbados. Others accused of witchcraft were "Old Pharoah, the slave of Zaccheus Collins...Mary Black, the negro slave of Nathaniel Putnam,... and Candy, a slave and fellow islander of Tituba's."[5]

Local laws regulating the behavior of African-Americans also confirm their presence in Salem. In 1703 and 1705, ordinances were passed forbidding negroes and mulatto servants and slaves from being out after nine o'clock at night and forbidding white persons to marry colored persons. Additionally, in the eighteenth century it became common to see "Negroes" advertised for sale in Salem. The expansion of commerce and the beginning of industry at this time created a demand for labor which could not be met by the existing supply of indentured servants and Indian slaves. Lorenzo Greene posits that in order to meet this demand, some slaves were brought into the New England colonies annually. He points out that while sales may have existed prior to the eighteenth century, it is difficult to substantiate them because no newspapers existed for advertising. There is, however, some statistical data in the reports of colonial governors to the home government in England that verify such sales.[6]

Slavery in New England developed differently from the mid-Atlantic and Southern Colonies. Plantation style gang-labor never developed in the region because most slaveholders were small farmers or artisans working in small shops. Since colonial New England was agricultural, a majority of slaves worked on farms.

Instead of being utilized extensively (as were plantation blacks) in the cultivation of staples, like tobacco, rice, and indigo, New England blacks were used in smaller numbers in the production of foodstuffs, forage crops, dairy products and in the raising of livestock.[7] A more personal relationship existed between slave and yeoman farmer. They worked side by side, inhabited the same dwelling, and often ate at the same table. Employment of slaves depended on the business of their master; thus, in addition to farming and domestic service, many slaves were trained in skilled trades. In Salem, this would have included such occupations as anchor maker, baker, blacksmith, chimney sweep, ferryman, shipwright, or rope maker.[8]

Slavery existed in Massachusetts, but there was also antislavery sentiment. As early as 1705 the General Court, tried to discourage the importation of slaves by placing a duty on the ships' masters payable to the town clerk. This measure was to no avail, as such masters found ways to avoid the duty and continued to import slaves in small numbers.[9] A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. points out that measures such as this one were not always based on humanitarian reasons. These laws were usually based on fear of non-whites and a desire to limit their presence in the Massachusetts Colony.[10]

By mid-century, a more "humanitarian rationale" appeared. Antislavery sentiment was particularly strong in Salem, where, in 1755, citizens petitioned the General Court to stop the importation of Africans. Many of Salem's residents felt that the traffic in human beings was not in line with prevailing moral and religious belief. The town voted again in 1773 to prevent further importations, yet slavery

continued. Even though records indicate that at least eight Salem men of African descent signed on to serve in the Continental Army during the revolution, Salem's ship captains still had not abandoned the slave trade as late as 1789.[11] Continuation of the traffic was not only antithetical to the wishes of the town, but also in opposition to decisions made by the Continental Congress regarding governance of the thirteen colonies. On the eve of the Revolutionary War, Congress pledged the colonies to a discontinuance of the slave trade after December 1, 1774. This pledge was reaffirmed in 1776 "when congress voted that no slave be imported into any of the thirteen united colonies."[12]

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War increased the discussions about the abolition of slavery for several reasons. In the South, fear of slave rebellions dominated. In New England, the argument that slavery was unprofitable was often voiced. More significantly, the ideals of the Revolution - economic and political freedom from England - were also applied to the condition of blacks. As Quarles said,"[a] master-slave society was repugnant to the revolutionary spirit and to the beliefs in the human freedoms which were at its heart."[13] This quotation exemplifies the philosophical opposition New Englanders were developing toward slavery.

War halted the slave trade as many vessels used in the traffic were converted to privateers as part of the naval strategy against the British. In 1775, Salem entered no fewer than 158 vessels in this capacity.[14] Additionally, there was the constant danger that the British navy would confiscate colonial vessels and their

cargoes. In the words of historian, Lorenzo Greene, "[t]he Revolutionary War ruined the slave trade, and prevented the increase of the black population [in New England] by importation."[15] While the war retarded the introduction of additional slaves, some blacks in Salem were still held in bondage. In 1781, ads still announced sales in the Salem Gazette. An October 18, ad read, "To be SOLD for 4 years, A Likely NEGRO GIRL, about 20 years old, suitable either for town or country. Inquire of Printer."[16] The fact that the young woman was being sold for four years indicates that indentured servitude co-existed with lifetime slavery.

By 1793, it might be assumed that most blacks had been freed by their masters as a result of the Quok Walker Case (Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, 1783) which decreed that slavery was inconsistent with the language of the new state constitution and therefore should be abolished. However, emancipation in Massachusetts was a gradual, case-by-case transition to total freedom, rather than an episodic, universal manumission. In January 1793, two masters were prosecuted for abuse of their slaves. Some Salem citizens held slaves as late as 1815; Jack Gerrish "at age 56, was confined to the charity house never having received his freedom."[17]

The fact that some blacks had not been granted freedom in 1815, some seventeen years after John Remond's arrival, illustrates the difficulty of establishing the exact transition from servitude to freedom for these people in Salem. By 1816, the so-called "black town" consisted of a group of about "one hundred huts and houses in the square lying between the present Broad Street Burying Ground,

Gedney Street, Mill Hill and Canal Street, a section vulgarly called 'Roast Meat Hill.'"[18] It is uncertain whether the residents of this free black community descended from those who first resided in Salem as slaves and servants. According to William Bentley, pastor of the First Church of Salem, there were only four Africans left in the town; all others had arrived since the American Revolution.[19] This suggests that the offspring of the original African slaves either died or left. Dorothy Porter indicates, however, that one of the Remond daughters, Cecilia, married James Babcock, whose family had lived in Salem since 1740. Porter further reports that Babcock's mother was a Narragansett Indian.[20] Perhaps this indicates that Bentley did not include mixed-blood Negroes in his statement, or perhaps Gloria Oden is correct in stating that Babcock's family was from Kingston, Rhode Island.[21]

Census data confirm a decrease in the black population of Essex County from 1049 in 1776 to 880 in 1790; Salem was home to 260 of that total.[22] Several factors could have contributed to this decline. The curtailment of the slave trade during the Revolutionary War clearly reduced the African-American population. It is conceivable that some slaves fled or chose to leave with the British. Still others may have left during the evacuation with those wealthy Salem families accused of being loyal to the Crown.[23] The Revolutionary War and attendant freedom had brought change to the community, and as the town underwent a period of prosperity from the 1790s through the early 1800s, the black community was in a

corresponding state of flux. John Remond certainly witnessed much of the transition of the black community in Salem.

* * * * * * *

In 1784, oceanic shipping was the major source of Salem's wealth. After the Revolutionary War, new markets opened, and Salem's Captains sailed to Russia, India, and China. Two years later, France and new markets in the West Indies expanded the town's trading compass. This new found prosperity in shipping lasted until late 1786, when an abatement caused unemployment.[24] Job scarcity left many laboring people without work and sent others westward into the newly organized Northwest Territory in hopes of new opportunities. Prosperity didn't return until the mid-1790s.[25]

In October 1796, as the elites created their enclaves with the building of Chestnut Street in the western part of town, land values in the east section of town near the wharf district also began to rise. These areas had once been considered less prestigious because they were inhabited by the poorer artisans and laborers, many of whom were black. Now they were being displaced by the sudden increase in land values and forced out. There were many attempts to move "negro huts" away from white neighborhoods because they were considered a blight. White citizens would chase away the inhabitants of these buildings and then destroy the huts. Other accounts indicate forced removal in 1796 from the area that is now

Chestnut Street when the elegant Federal homes were being built. Since the evictions were sanctioned by the town as part of an effort to beautify the area, the people who inhabited the huts had little to say about their fate.[26] While these evictions began as a socio-economic struggle, they soon became a partisan one that pitted Federalists against Republicans. "At the time the development started, no non-Federalist had the money or the muscle to compete with the leading party (Federalists)."[27] Chestnut Street was actually an enclave for wealthy members of the Federalist Party who controlled Salem at this time. As we shall see, this political division became important to the black citizens in the early decades of the nineteenth century when the political parties sought their allegiance.

Many who were forcibly moved were former slaves who had gained their freedom in 1783. Some had been laborers on the wharves, or perhaps in the local distilleries. Others had been employed as servants or in some artisan trade. Some, especially the domestic servants, were retained by their former masters, and received wages for their work. Others, particularly those who had worked on the wharves and as apprentices to their artisan masters, were now forced to compete with white laborers for these waged positions. According to Lorenzo Greene, "frequently denied the opportunity of earning a living and forced into idleness as a consequence, free Negroes were to be later stigmatized as an idle, lazy and dissolute class."[28]

These destitute Negroes were often arrested for crimes including theft, arson and murder. In one instance, "a Black thief," who was an acquaintance of a

Captain Mason's servant, robbed the captain causing great embarrassment to his friend. In 1803, a robbery at the store of Captain G. Crowninshield was committed by one of Salem's black citizens. In this account, the Night Watch wrote about "Negroes upon the streets at all hours of the night." The prejudice of white citizens often led to unequal sentences for blacks and whites accused of the same crime. William Bentley (1759 - 1819), minister of the East Church in Salem, bemoaned the condemnation of a black citizen accused of murdering a "bastard white child" (a deed which no one witnessed), while a prominent Salem citizen was exonerated for the public killing of a rival.[29]

Many such crimes happened near the wharves, not far from black neighborhoods. However, not all of Salem's black inhabitants could be categorized as poor, for evidence hints at an emerging class structure within the black community; indeed, white Salemites used appearance as well as behavior to judge members of the black community. On several occasions, Bentley described the dress and demeanor of blacks as well as their financial status. An August, 1797 entry read,

> We had this day, the funeral of a young Black, born of African parents... The appearance was pleasing to humanity. Tho' the number of men clean & they were dressed from common life up to the highest fashions. We saw the plain homespun & rich Indian Muslins & trail, so that they completely aped the manners of the whites & in happiness seemed to surpass them.[30]

This description of differences in attire illustrates economic diversity within the African-American community. With the beginnings of social stratification in black

Salem in mind, Bentley described the participants as "no dishonor to their race" and "decently clad & orderly blacks."[31]

William Bentley's commentary on the death of Sampson Augustus, a painter by trade, suggests he found "favor with the public," perhaps more so than most African-Americans found in Salem. This statement would indicate that whites were not particularly tolerant of blacks, but did ascribe worthiness to some, particularly those with money. In relating the details of the death of a black female domestic servant, Bentley stated that she had been employed in the "house of Primus Manning, a worthy free black, while he lived..."[32] If we assign a voice to the white community of Salem based on the comments of one of its prominent, though opinionated, citizens, then we can conclude that those blacks who merited the respect and favor of that segment of the town were those who were agreeable in appearance, neatly dressed, industrious, faithful, honest, well-tempered, and who adopted the mannerisms of the white community. Demeanor seemed to be as significant as economic status. Thus, "blind Caesar," who died in the almshouse, was portrayed as a poor and needy man, but never a troublesome one.

It is apparent that Bentley's personal contacts with blacks (at least those he chose to write about) were with those persons affiliated with his church, the Republican Party, or those he knew because of his position on the School Committee. In recording the third marriage of Chloe Minns (the person who headed the African School in 1807) on January 6, 1817, he described some guests as "decent in their dress & deportment...the best of the blacks in Salem, perhaps in

New England."[33] Those considered to be the best of the blacks worked as teachers, cooks (caterers), cake and pastry makers, servants, waiters, freeholders, and deacons. Certainly the Remond family would have been included in the ranks of such worthy blacks described above. While he never mentioned John Remond, Bentley had attended functions catered by Remond and probably knew him.[34] Most likely Remond's ties to the Federalists effectively excluded him from Bentley's records.

Worthiness may have granted some respectability among whites, but did not shield blacks from the sting of segregation and prejudice. Prince Hall, the founder of the African Lodge of Masons in Boston, was admired by Salem's white Masons, but when he came to town, it was as a cook for the Turtle Feast of the Marine Society, not as a participant in activities of the local Lodge of Masons. When the minister Thomas Paul, Pastor of the African Baptist Church of Boston, came to Salem to preach to a Baptist meeting, the stagecoach line refused to let him ride inside with the white passengers; he politely refused an offer to ride with the driver. Bentley himself exhibited an overt dismissal of the significance of the black community when speaking of the 1790 Census. He stated, "the Census of 1790 was taken in five columns, properly three, because the fourth[,] called free and all other persons, included only Negroes, & the fifth of slaves must be empty."[35] This was not an innocent statement, for each time Bentley stated the total population of the town, he excluded Blacks, even though they were legally citizens as a result of the Quok Walker case of 1783. Prejudice notwithstanding, occupation did carry

with it some measure of respectability and with that came the ability to influence the white community. Thus, the question becomes, how much influence did those African-Americans who were seen as an asset have on others in the African-American, as well as the larger community. We also need to examine the basis of their political awareness.

William Piersen writes at length about the importance of Election Day among African Americans in New England. Black Election Day celebrations began in the 1770s in Salem and continued into the 1790s. This activity was a time for socializing and celebration, paralleling the political process of the white community. Election Day in Salem was a red letter day. Some servants would refuse to work if denied the opportunity to participate in the festivities. Elections usually took place the last week of May in some open area and were preceded by weeks of politicking by the candidates.[36] According to Piersen, only men could vote, but women participated by lobbying on behalf of their favorite candidate. The festivities began with the newly elected "governor" or "king" riding through town in triumph. Once the new governor or king arrived at the home of his owner, there was an inaugural dinner paid for by the master.[37] This activity was clearly a form of charivari, a ritual of role reversal.

These mock elections and celebrations were the beginnings of participation in a political process. They were not all amusement since the Negro governors often had jurisdiction over the members of their community and, as was common with charivari, were often asked to keep their neighbors in line.[38] King Mumford

of Salem was elected governor in 1790. As governor, he would have been responsible for black citizens accused of breaking the law. Among his duties would have been the administration of punishment and insuring future compliance with the law.

While black men did not have the opportunity to hold the official offices satirized in Election Day, the political process of campaigning and selecting a candidate to support was important. When Massachusetts adopted the final version of its Constitution in 1780, suffrage was based on sex, age, and property. At first, the political rights of blacks were not clear, and there is evidence that they were not always granted the privilege of voting. Leon Litwack cites a petition filed by two "colored residents," Paul Cuffe and his brother, "that they be granted tax relief or the right to vote and hold office. [39] These two men lived in Boston, so the right to vote may have been decided by individual cities and towns. Apparently some black men in Salem voted in the early 1800s, as their support was actively sought by both political parties.

Participation in Election Day activities was only part of black Salem's political awakening. The influence of Joshua Spaulding, a white clergyman, in the politicization of the community is also significant. Spaulding's desire to educate the black community attracted many to the Tabernacle Church, where he was pastor. When he was dismissed from that church in 1802, his black congregants left with him, and helped him raise the capital to start the Branch Meeting House in 1803. Spaulding's church was more than a house of worship. It soon became a gathering

place for black organizations. The ability to gather in large numbers, coupled with ease of access to Boston (the Salem Turnpike was opened to Boston in September, 1803), may have had some influence on the creation of several African societies[40] in Salem. By 1805, there was a chapter of the Sons of Africa Society, which was organized "for mutual benefit of each other behaving ourselves at all times as true and faithful citizens of the Commonwealth in which we live and we take no one into the Society who shall commit injustice or outrage against the laws of this Country."[41]

In July, 1807 the African Society sponsored a parade followed by a sermon from Rev. Spaulding.[42] The society, which attracted at least eighty men and women to its functions, helped to politicize the black elite.[43] This nascent political awareness, and the highly charged political rivalry in Salem, made the black vote important to both Federalists and Jeffersonians. While it is difficult to ascertain how black members of the community voted (church affiliation may have been an influence as we shall see later), both parties attracted influential members.

The proliferation of African-American organizations must have drawn the attention of the two political parties. As mentioned earlier, the Sons of African Society was established in 1805. In 1826, black tailors in Boston, led by David Walker and William C. Nell, founded the Massachusetts General Colored Association to work for equal rights. Many of Salem's black citizens joined this organization.[44] Their presence made it easy for white politicians to identify community leaders.

Clamoring for votes was serious business in Salem. The two-party system was barely six years old in 1802. Although Salem will always be thought of as a Federalist town, the Jeffersonians controlled many local political offices. These offices were appointed, and when Thomas Jefferson was elected President, he repaid his supporters with patronage. James Duncan Phillips describes this "appointment" of Republican office seekers as "inflicting a sort of alien minority rule on the people."[45] Jeffersonians were determined to change that description of alien minority to a majority and so they campaigned vigorously, if not always fairly, to elect their own to state and local positions. Their tenacity paid off with the election of Jacob Crowninshield to Congress in 1802.[46] From this point on the Republican party was well established in Salem. They, and Federalists alike, worked hard for the black vote. Each party had its prominent black supporters, respected community leaders who could favorably influence other blacks. Salem historian, Henry Brookes, remarked, "the votes of these people were formerly [sic] sought by Federalists and Republicans (Democrats) who had 'wire pullers' to influence them. The Federalists had...John Remond, the noted caterer, and York Morris... The Democrats, Prince Farmer and Mumford."[47]

Political activity and community uplift were not the exclusive domain of the black men of Salem. In 1818, the Colored Female Religious and Moral Society of Salem was formed. A copy of the organization's constitution reveals that this was more than a religious and moral society. It was also a benevolent organization whose members agreed to keep "a charitable watch over one another; to aid the

sick and destitute members."[48] In February, 1832, a group of black women organized the first female anti-slavery society. Their constitution discloses that the women came together "for our mutual improvement, and to promote the welfare of our color." These goals were to be accomplished through purchasing books to encourage intellectual growth and depositing a portion of the dues in a bank for the relief of the needy.[49]

Eventually, the Colored Female Anti-Slavery Society merged with the integrated Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society. Nancy Remond, John's wife, and their daughters were active members. The Salem Directory of 1846 lists Caroline E. Remond, John's youngest child, as auditor and her sister Susan Remond as a committee member.[50] The women who were in leadership positions in both the Colored Female Religious and Moral Society and the Colored Female Anti-Slavery society seem to have been from families that were economically stable. York Morris' wife Mercy, was a founding member, and Nancy Remond was active in the Female Anti-Slavery Society from its inception.

Economic stability was not only a factor determining the level of activism among members of the black community; it also determined the respect accorded by whites. The development of these organizations helped move the African-American community from the passive position of following the lead of whites, to actively forging a place for themselves, their children and grandchildren in Salem's history.

Similarly, church affiliation played a major role in the ability of Salem's blacks to move toward unification around social and political issues by providing an opportunity to meet and discuss mutual problems and goals. Reverend William Bentley's Diary allows us to see the influence of the church on the African-American community and its role in providing educational opportunities. Bentley served as minister of the East Church in Salem from 1784 until his death, and also as a member of the Salem school committee for a number of years. Since he was a loyal Jeffersonian, his diary omits those members of the black (and white) community who were more closely connected to the rival Federalist Party. Even so, his diary provides considerable information on the educational process as well as religious affiliations of the black population.

Records of the East Church, a Unitarian congregation, indicate that in 1778 a Negro named Rebeccah was counted in the membership. Over the years, there were other blacks in the congregation, as Bentley described numerous funerals and weddings over which he presided. He noted prayer requests made by servants for their masters and for their family members who were ill.[51] Extant records also indicate that Salem's slaves and servants worshipped in the same churches as their masters. Thus, in the late eighteenth century, members of the black community were found worshipping in Anglican, Episcopal, Unitarian and other denominations represented in Salem.[52]

The first indication of unification of Salem's black worshippers occurred in 1798 (the year young John Remond arrived) when Mr. Joshua Spaulding changed

his style of ministering at the Tabernacle, a Congregational church. Born in Killingly, Connecticut in 1760 and the recipient of an honorary degree from Dartmouth, Spaulding had been pastor of the Tabernacle since October, 1785.[53] Never formally educated as a youth, Spaulding had a burning desire to preach and was placed under the tutelage of Reverend Ebenezer Bradford of Rowley, Connecticut. By age twenty-two, he was a licensed preacher.[54] Less conservative in his preaching style than most of his contemporaries in Salem, Spaulding believed in "revivals of religion" and at times, when caught up in his lesson, became quite "loud and animated."[55] According to Bentley, he was contemptuously called an "incendiary" because of his style.

Along with his expressive preaching, Spaulding introduced the practice of holding religious meetings at private homes. It was at these home meetings that he began instructing members of the black community. Other congregations were so fearful of losing membership, that they began home meetings to retain their black congregants. As these home meetings continued, Spaulding began to draw a core of black citizens to his ministry.[56] The extent of concern about losing black members to the Tabernaclers is reflected in William Bentley's description of that church "making a wedge at our part of Town. Having established one House in Marlborough St. for their weekly devotions, they have obliged the Assembly Church to purchase another as a counterpart to their Labours & to prevent the loss of the Sheep." He went on to say that although Spaulding instructed blacks at the home of one of his members, in his estimation, Spaulding had made no progress. It

was hoped that the vigilance of the other congregations would "be sufficient to prevent success."[57]

In 1802, Spaulding was dismissed by the congregants as pastor of the Tabernacle because he vetoed the membership of an individual whom the congregation had approved. He believed the person was unworthy and refused to acquiesce to the wishes of church members. However, Spaulding was bound by the mandates of the Congregational Church, which did not allow pastors to veto the decisions of their parishioners. Upon his dismissal, he founded the Branch Meeting House. The black members of his congregation, along with "a more humble class" of whites, helped Spaulding raise the necessary finances.[58] It was there that Spaulding ordained a black man, M. Freeman, as elder and deacon. Freeman distinguished himself as one of the best of several newly ordained clergymen in Salem (1807).[59]

Spaulding's popularity in the black population centered around his efforts to eradicate illiteracy. The problem the white community had with Spaulding was not so much his educational project (they could emulate that) but with his religious approach, which was popular among blacks. There was fear that his celebrity would consolidate the black population into one congregation, thus diminishing the control exercised over their activities by the town's Unitarian ministers and congregants. Blacks were not welcomed to the churches for their money. Rather it was their presence, that is, their votes that mattered.

As stated earlier, Salem was a hotbed of political contestation during this era. Many Unitarian churches were pastored by staunch Jeffersonians (Bentley was a prime example), and it was not uncommon for ministers to use their pulpits to promote their politics. Elections in Salem were often close and the votes of Black men could determine outcomes. Jeffersonians held a slight edge at this time and tended to seek the political support of mechanics, artisans, seamen, and laborers.[60] Many of Salem's black citizens were in this economic group. If the Unitarian churches lost these men to Mr. Spaulding, they might also lose political power to the Federalists with whom he was affiliated.

Politics aside, the influence of Joshua Spaulding in the educational uplift of the black community cannot be overlooked. In January 1807, he encouraged William Bentley, in his role as a member of Salem's School committee, to establish a school for black children for instruction in reading and writing.[61] Prior to approaching Bentley, Spaulding had established classes for the children at the home of a Mrs. Sarah Norris. This action was most auspicious, as the poorer white community had protested the presence of black children in the public schools. As a result, by 1807, "[a] sort of furious expression of public feeling drove blacks from the schools."[62] The School Committee approved of the establishment of an African school in May, 1807, but agreed only to be responsible for the salary of the school's master. Spaulding was responsible for finding a suitable location. While Salem applauded the establishment of a school for its black children, the fact that the town neither provided a building nor took responsibility for financing one

demonstrates reluctance on their part to provide equal education for these children. The same year that the School Committee established the African School, it also approved the building of at least two new buildings for Salem's white children.[63]

Chloe Minns, described as a "mulatto member" of Spaulding's congregation, was appointed as teacher when the school finally opened on June 26, 1807.[64] Although she could not write, she could read at the time of her employment. Eventually the town of Salem paid all the expenses of educating its black children. According to Arthur O. White, the African School was so successful in attracting students that twenty-five percent of the 184 children in "women's" schools [schools taught by women] were black. This occurred at a time when blacks did not exceed 3% of the population.

Spaulding's desire to eradicate illiteracy and his ability to attract and consolidate the black population paved the way for the establishment of several societies aimed at instructing or uplifting the members of that community. Some of these associations were in competition with Spaulding, some were aided by him. Joseph Felt reported that in 1817 "the Clarkson Society provide[d] religious instruction for the colored population part of the time, and so do for several years."[65] In 1832, an anonymous writer to The Liberator described the Clarkson Society as an association organized by ladies as a Sabbath School which attracted old and young females. After the school was in existence for one year, "a number of gentlemen lent their assistance, and collected the coloured males into the school, which, with this addition, averaged about eighty scholars - twenty teachers and a

superintendent."[66] According to the article in The Liberator, the effort continued for eight to ten years, over which time attendance diminished. The society continued to assist in the uplift of the community with an evening school for females where reading, writing and mathematics were taught.[67] In 1822, the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor started a summer school which attracted 114 black children and adults.[68]

Perhaps the most important of the associations were those begun by the black community itself. As stated earlier, in 1805, Salem had its own chapter of the Sons of African Society which often met at Spaulding's Branch Meeting House. This group, sometimes joined by the Boston chapter, had a hand in funerals, weddings and other festivities. In 1818, black women organized a female charitable organization for the uplift of the black community. By 1828, an African Church was being built on South Street with John Remond heading the endeavor. The building of their own church indicates a desire on the part of the black community to be totally responsible for their own affairs. They had created an organization for cultural and social improvement, a charitable association to assist the poor of the community, and a church to take care of spiritual needs. Education, however, remained troublesome.

Town support for black education was inconsistent and fluctuated with the desires of the white population. When Chloe Minns retired from the African Primary School in 1823, the school closed and young students were allowed to attend one district school in an area called Roast Meat Hill. Then, the town

removed the children from this school in 1826 to the African Writing School. The black master of that school had to contend with fifty pupils who ranged in age from four to twenty-two, in a single room designed for far fewer bodies. Other factors compounded the overcrowding issue. When the city defined school age from four to sixteen, almost one-fifth of the African Writing School's students were over age. In addition, only fifteen of the fifty students actually lived near the school; the rest walked several miles to school while white children were assigned to the nearest neighborhood school. The Writing School survived for only a year, and black parents were unsuccessful in persuading Salem to reopen a primary school for their children. "As a consequence only the rare black with ready money could afford the 'ruinous expense' of educating his children at home."[69]

The pendulum had swung; Salem schools had moved from educating a few black children, to segregated facilities that required black children to travel great distances from home, to no educational facilities in which these children were welcome. The black community in 1827 experienced a new realization of the discrimination practiced by city officials. It soon resolved that such prejudicial treatment was intolerable. Blacks began agitating for equal schooling after the expulsion of a black student from a Salem High School for girls in 1833, (who had been allowed to attend for three years).[70] In response, the town established an "African Grammar School" which didn't equal the standards of the schools for whites. Several black students were again admitted to one of the girl's high schools in 1834 causing "a storm" amongst Salem's white citizenry. One-hundred-seventy-

five citizens signed a petition requesting that the black students be dismissed from the school. "The signers stated that they had 'no disposition to injure their Colored Citizens, that they are willing to be taxed for [sic] improvement, but not at the expense of their own or their children's feelings."[71] The result of this petition was the reestablishment of a school for colored children of all ages.

Though the town officials thought they were appeasing the black citizens, protests against segregated educational facilities continued under the leadership of John Remond, who was now one of Salem's leading black citizens. York Morris accompanied him in his efforts. It was Remond's eldest son, Charles Lenox, who spoke throughout Massachusetts about the inferior education afforded Blacks. The elder Remond, and Morris had access to the elite and politically connected white community. John had been the exclusive caterer at Hamilton Hall, established by the Federalist Party in 1805, and he had catered affairs for the Salem Light Infantry, and the Marquis de Lafayette. York Morris was the first colored waiter in Salem, and as such, served many of the wealthy Federalist families in town.[72] His son, Robert, was the second African-American to be admitted to the Bar in Massachusetts and the first to serve as an attorney in Boston. Both men were members of the African Society and Remond was active in the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.[73]

After thirteen years of agitation, intense legal action began in the Fall of 1843 when one of Salem's "respected black citizens (probably John Remond, who had two school aged grandchildren at this time) went to the home of a school

committee member to protest the mandatory placement of his grandchildren in the segregated African school. Remond demanded admission to the white primary school. The school committee member refused, citing town ordinances which restricted black children to the "colored" school. Remond, along with his wife and daughter, responded; "We do not allow and so help us, we never will allow, for a moment, that our children or any colored children, can with justice be shut out from participating freely in the fair competition in all advantages of the public school. A distinct school is more debasing than none. We have feelings in common with our fellow men."[74]

A boycott at the colored school reduced attendance from sixty to seventeen students a day. By December, 1843, blacks petitioned the School Committee seeking the integration of Salem's schools. They finally achieved success on March 21, 1844, with the help of abolitionist and merchant Mayor Stephen Phillips, who had entered the debate in December, 1843. Salem's school system became the first in America to be successfully integrated as a result of political agitation.[75] That it took thirteen years probably stemmed from the fact that Remond moved his family to Newport, Rhode Island from 1837 to 1842 to guarantee his two youngest daughters, Sarah and Caroline, a proper high school education. The resolution to the problem came just two years after the family's return to Salem.

Certainly, the Remonds cannot be given singular credit for the activism of Salem's black community. However, John Remond figured prominently in many of

the milestones reached during this period. John Remond's life and his influence on his abolitionist daughter, Sarah, are essential to her story which is about to unfold.

NOTES

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5. William D. Piersen, Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England, (Amherst: UMASS Press, 1988), pp. 80 - 81.

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7. Lorenzo Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, p. 103.

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27. Susan Geib, "Landscape and Faction: Spatial Transformation in William Bentley's Salem," in Dr. Bentley's Salem; Diary of a Town, (Salem: Essex Institute, 1977), p. 21.

28. Lorenzo J. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, p. 307.

29. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. III, p. 66 - 67, 266.

30. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. II, p. 235.

31. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. III, p. 437.

32. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. IV, p. 594.

33. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. IV, pp. 435 - 36.

34. Remond Family Papers, MSS 271, Essex Institute, "Letter to Mrs. Silsbee from John Remond."

35. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. I, p. 222.

36. Sean White, "'It Was a Proud Day': African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834," in The Journal of American History, June 1994, pp. 13 - 50, p. 31.

37. William D. Piersen, Black Yankees, p. 121.

38. Susan G. Davis, Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 98.

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40. In the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century, free blacks organized benevolent societies for the betterment of their communities. In an effort to distinguish their organizations, they referred to them as "African." By the mid-nineteenth century, it seems that the phrase had been shortened to "Afro." The use of the term "African" seemed to be part of the change in nomenclature that has long been attached to the now "African-American" community.

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47. Henry M. Brookes, "Some Localities About Salem," Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 31 (Salem: 1894-95) p. 115.

48. Dorothy Sterling, ed., We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), p. 109.

49. Dorothy Sterling, We Are Your Sisters, p. 113.

50. Salem Directory, (Salem: 1846) p. 140.

51. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. I, pp. 95, 236, 242, 295.

52. Eleanor Broadhead, "A Brief History of the Negro in Salem."

53. There is some disagreement about whether or not Spaulding actually attended Dartmouth. Rev. C. C. Beaman, in the article, "The Branch or Howard Street Church" published in Essex Institute historical Collection, Vol. III, indicates that the degree was honorary; Joseph B. Felt in his Annals of Salem, stated that Spaulding was educated at Dartmouth.

54. Rev. C. C. Beaman, "The Branch or Howard St. Church," Essex Institute Historical Collection, Vol. III, p. 274.

55. Rev. C. C. Beaman, "The Branch or Howard St. Church," p. 276.

56. Rev. C.C. Beamon, "The Branch Church or Howard St. Church," p. 274.

57. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. II, p. 265-66.

58. Arthur O. White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," p. 104.

59. Eleanor Broadhead, "A Brief History of the Negro in Salem."

60. Ronald P. Formisano, The Transformation of Political Culture, Massachusetts Parties, 1790s - 1840s, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 155, 163.

61. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. III, p. 273.

62. Arthur O. White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," p. 106.; Eleanor Broadhead, "A Brief History of the Negro in Salem."

63. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. III, pp. 294, 296.

64. William Bentley, Diary, Vol. III, p. 301.

65. Joseph B. Felt, Annals of Salem, p. 607.

66. The Liberator, Vol. II, No. 1, January 7, 1832, p. 3.

67. The Liberator, Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 7, 1832, p. 3.

68. Eleanor Broadhead, "A Brief History of the Negro in Salem."

69. Arthur O. White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," p. 107.

70. Eleanor Broadhead, "A Brief History of the Negro in Salem."

71. Eleanor Broadhead, "A Brief History of the Negro in Salem."

72. Remond Family Papers; M.C.D. Silsbee, A Half Century in Salem, (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1887), p. 93.

73. Arthur O. White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," p. 114.

74. Arthur O. White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," p. 100-11.

75. Arthur O. White, "Salem's Antebellum Black Community," p. 114.

CHAPTER 2

FAMILY MATTERS: FOUNDATIONS IN ACTIVISM AND ENTERPRISE

John Remond's stock of fine wines and cordials were auctioned off on three separate occasions in the 1860s. Among the items displayed, but not sold, was a bottle of Schiedam gin given to him by his mother, Marytelia, the day she entrusted him to the care of Captain John Needham. The date of departure from the island of Curacao was recorded in a note placed around the bottle (by John) which read, "[p]resented to me by my mother the day I sailed on the 25th of July 1798, on the letter of marque, brig Six Brothers, John Needham, Master, Nathaniel Ingersoll, Supercargo, arrived in Beverly in August."[1] According to customs records, Remond was ten years old at the time of his arrival, though other records indicate that he was actually twelve. It is believed that his mother sanctioned his leaving home because of a slave uprising in 1795 and naval wars in the Caribbean, which had created unstable conditions on the island.[2] No other information has been found to shed light on how his mother came to trust Captain Needham, or how John's voyage was financed.

John's mother was an African of French birth and his father was a Dutch Jew.[3] His mother was a free black, which placed her and her offspring in the upper social strata as defined by customs of Curacaons of African descent. Mulattos, free blacks, and those who were servants made up the upper class, while laborers and field hands occupied the next levels.[4] John's father was probably a merchant as were many Jews on the island. Because of his status, for the first twelve years of

his life, John Remond was entitled to an education, and probably lived better than many of his peers. Thus, John may well have left the island with living expenses and some education.[5]

One might ask why then did his mother send him to America? Remond stated that his mother sent him to America for schooling. However, according to histories of Curacao, he would have had access to schooling alongside white children because of his Dutch-Jewish lineage.[6] Most likely, Marytelia was concerned that the slave uprisings on the island placed John in danger of being enslaved by those whites who were attempting to return rebellious slaves to their plantations. Rather than risk John's enslavement, Marytelia decided to surrender her child to the care of another person. The custom of "adopting out" was part of black Curacao's heritage. Africans on that island were very concerned about their social status and willing to negotiate better prospects for their offspring. If Marytelia felt that her son might be denied the benefits of the upper social strata, she would have followed the custom of "adopting out" or "giving away" her son to ensure him a better future.

Given his mother's sacrifice and investment in his future, John Remond arrived in Salem with the incentive to succeed. He could not fail his mother, who must have agonized over the decision to give up her child. He had to be a success, and had to occupy a position in society worthy of the sacrifice made to secure his future. While John must have possessed a rudimentary education before he left Curacao, he probably did not speak much English as his departure from the island

predates English occupation. His arrival in Salem meant learning a new culture and a new language. His success at this over the years clearly indicates this young lad was intelligent, shrewd, ambitious, determined and blessed with leadership skills.

Upon arrival in Salem, the ship's captain consigned John to the care of his brother, Isaac, who owned a bakery where the youth was employed as a delivery boy and where he also learned the art of baking.[7] Living with the Needhams gave John a unique vantage point for acquainting himself with his new environment. As he tended to his chores, he observed Salem's social hierarchies which relegated the majority of blacks to poor neighborhoods and menial labor.[8] He witnessed the arrivals and departures of Negro servants employed by the wealthy merchants living along Chestnut Street. As Isaac Needham's delivery boy, he undoubtedly had personal contact with those servants and the people for whom they worked. He most assuredly delivered bread to the ships' masters at the Salem wharves, for as Dorothy Porter wrote, Isaac Needham's bread was in "great demand by the ships frequenting Salem's harbor as well as for domestic use."[9]

The imagination of a boy, whose father was a merchant and who lived with a ship's captain, envisioned a life where he would provide what the ships' owners needed. John Remond was astute enough to know that he needed capital to fulfill this dream. Cognizant of the parameters established by white society, he set out to guarantee a decent living and a good name for himself. He went to Boston around 1803 -04, where he learned the barbering and hairdressing trades - a common occupation for nineteenth-century blacks. While there, he may have also learned

the rudiments of catering. A sociable man, John undoubtedly made contacts within Boston's black community. He may have met his future wife, Nancy Lenox, while learning the barbering trade, as her father and two brothers were engaged in the same business. These contacts in the Hub were influential in shaping Remond's future life in Salem.

John returned to Salem in 1805, the same year that an "association of wealthy gentlemen" financed the construction of an assembly hall named in honor of Alexander Hamilton, at a cost of $22,000. Hamilton Hall became closely associated with John Remond. As Marie Fabens reminisced, "perhaps the chief spirit [of Hamilton Hall] was the caterer, John Remond, a young man from Curacao, who had been installed in an apartment on the ground floor of the building with a great kitchen and a cellar."[10] The nineteen year old Remond likely began as the caretaker of the property, and by Christmas week of 1805, had arranged the first assembly - a dance.[11]

On October 29, 1807, Nancy Lenox of Newton, Massachusetts, married John in Boston's African Baptist Church.[12] Nancy was the daughter of Cornelius Lenox, who operated a hairdressing shop in Watertown for 71 years and owned property in Newton. He and his wife Susannah (Toney) strongly believed that education led to useful work, and provided their sons and daughter with the training necessary to be successful in those occupations accessible to Northern free blacks at the time. Nancy went to a catering school in Boston, while her two brothers were trained as barbers.[13] The love of learning and thirst for knowledge was reflected by the

personal library in the Lenox home. In her journal, Charlotte Forten, granddaughter of black abolitionist James Forten, wrote of the Lenox's finely illustrated volumes of Shakespeare.[14]

The Remond partnership was based on compatible skills and complementary ideologies. As a native of Massachusetts, Nancy had a direct connection to the American Revolution and its legacy that "all men are created equal.' Her father, Cornelius Lenox, fought in Captain John Wood's Company, Lieutenant Colonel Laommi Baldwin's regiment.[15] Nancy was nurtured in a family that believed in basic freedoms and took advantage of those granted them by Massachusetts law.[16] The marriage of John and Nancy brought together the ideology of freedom culled from the French Revolution, social privilege as experienced by John as a boy, and the ideology of the fundamental freedoms defined by the legacy of the American Revolution. Beliefs in the equality of men and natural rights that accrue to all at birth were combined with commitments to economic success and political activism. This heritage was transmitted to their children. We will first examine the economic stability the family enjoyed.

John and Nancy catered the many affairs at Hamilton Hall, which also doubled as their home. In 1809, the Salem Light Infantry sponsored a dinner for Massachusetts Governor Christopher Gore. Exotic fruits and vegetables arrived at the hall in vans from Boston; farmers from the area brought produce. Live turtles were purchased from New York to be made into "the delicious soup for which the caterer was noted;" oysters, considered a new delicacy, were prepared for the

festivities.[17] Over the years, the Remonds catered affairs for former President John Adams (1823), the Marquis de Lafayette (1824), and the Honorable Judge Joseph Story (1829). Some of the events required meals for hundreds of guests. In addition to preparing food, Remond furnished "light and fire, attendants, cleaning of the hall before and after the events," and sometimes all glass and crockery "at his own risk."[18] Remond's handwritten account records indicate that he hired members of the black community as attendants and servers. When dancing was included in the event, he often hired a "band of Negro fiddlers" for the music. When not catering these large affairs for elites, the Remonds served soup to ordinary people from the back door of their kitchen, at a cost of fifty cents per quart, daily between the hours of twelve and one o'clock.[19]

Since catering did not provide a steady income, John also used the barbering skills he had acquired in Boston. On May 2, 1811 when he became a U.S. citizen, Remond listed his occupation as that of a hairdresser.[20] By this time John and Nancy had two children, Nancy, and Charles Lenox born in 1809 and 1810, respectively. Before the next decade began, they added five more children to their family; John Lenox (1812), Susan (1814), Cecilia (1816), a son (1817-1821), and Maritche Juan (1818). In the 1820s, they had three daughters; Mary (1821) [died at age 6 months], Sarah Parker (1824), and Caroline (1826).

As the family grew and the children were incorporated in the family businesses, John Remond embarked on another endeavor, that of a provisioner. It isn't clear when he entered this business or how he established himself, but perhaps

his wealthy Federalist patrons at Hamilton Hall helped out. It is also possible that he had established some connections with merchants in New York and Rhode Island because of his Dutch-Jewish lineage. We know Remond often advertised cider and beef from Albany, New York, where a large Dutch community had settled. Since his father was presumably a merchant, he may have had connections in Newport, Rhode Island, as some of the Dutch-Jewish merchants from Curacao who settled there could have extended credit.[21]

Remond's advertisements in the Observer indicate that he kept a massive stock in his shop located at 12 Front Street in 1823. One advertisement read,

> John Remond has for sale, just received per schooner Spartan, from New York; 4000 lb. Virginia Hams, 2000 lb. Albany Smoked Beef, 2000 lb. Cheshire cheese, 500 lb. Goshen butter, 100 dozen Newark Cider, Albany and Newburg Ale, Philadelphia Porter, Oysters, Lobsters and Tripe, pickled in glass.[22]

He also offered his customers fresh oysters "with sufficient notice," as they were bedded at Cape Cod, and advertised "a constant supply of cellery [sic], and curry powder from East India." His stock was such that it required two buildings for storage. Some items could be found in his south building, while the north building housed stock, and doubled as his oyster house. From there he offered oysters cooked any style and delivered them to any part of town - guaranteed to arrive hot.[23]

The Front Street address also served as a brokerage house for other businesses. In January 1824, John Brown, who owned a cleaning business at No. 6 Spring Lane, Boston, ran an advertisement in the Observer advising his patrons

that "all clothes left at Mr. John Remond's shop, Front Street Salem, will be forwarded and punctually attended to."[24] This ad indicates Remond's role as a broker or middle man, and suggests that he must have travelled, or hired someone to travel to Boston on a regular basis. Remond also booked freight and passengers for the Packet Sloop Intrepid, and by the time Sarah was one year old, in 1825, he was taking orders for fruit trees for the Flushing Nurseries. His business seemed to be booming that year as he increased his supply of hams to 10,000 pounds prepared expressly for shipping. Also in his inventory were 2000 pounds of ham shoulders, 4000 pounds smoked beef, 300 gallons of wine vinegar "suitable for South American market," and other items.[25]

By September 1826, Remond moved his business to No. 8 Derby Square for the "better accommodation of his customers." Business continued to thrive throughout 1826 and 1827. By June of 1827, Virginia tobacco and Spanish cigars were added to the inventory along with pickled walnuts and barrels of whiskey. The addition of Virginia tobacco and Spanish cigars may have been the result of an accommodation made with the local cigar manufacturer, who used the tobacco in making domestic cigars, as well as the Spanish cigars, for Remond's stock.[26]

It is clear from the size of his stock that Remond had established his businesses around the needs of Salem's elites and its ship's captains. In the late 1820s, however the regional economy took a downward turn. So it is not surprising that, by the end of 1827, Remond shifted his advertising toward goods suitable for family use. By 1828, economic problems began to effect the

provisioning business. By midyear, the following notice appeared in the newspaper,

> The subscriber intending to make some new arrangements in his business in a few weeks, earnestly requests all persons who are indebted to him by note or account to call and settle the same before the 7th day of June next, at which time he will be obliged to leave all such demands as are unpaid with an attorney for collection.[27]

He also offered his "well known" Bay horse, Brutus, for sale due to lack of "sufficient employment." By November 1828, Remond's business moved to a smaller space at No. 8 1/2 Derby Square, and his advertisements reflected a smaller inventory.[28]

The decline in Remond's business was a reflection of hard economic times for free blacks in both Salem and Boston.[29] This period of economic uncertainty for those connected with maritime industries was tied to national economic policy and social disorganization in Massachusetts. As a hedge against failure, Salem's merchants began investing more capital in manufacturing - especially in textiles. The growth of textile manufacturing competed directly with the commerce in East India textiles, which were subject to a tariff and thus were at a competitive disadvantage. Oscar and Mary Handlin indicate that "the growth of factory production affected every element in Massachusetts."[30] Boston merchants like Abbott Lawrence saw the need to open man-made routes to the West as a means of competing with those areas where there was a natural means of connecting the hinterland with port cities. As manufacturing concentrated in the hands of a few Boston merchants, so did trade that was necessary to keep those manufacturing

enterprises alive. Moreover, as maritime trade shifted from foreign markets to southern domestic ones, blacks who once made a living as sailors and dock workers began to lose their jobs because of Southern opposition to their presence. Another effect of this shift in markets was a decline in the number of vessels entering and leaving Salem's harbor.

The state of Massachusetts also aided in the decline of commercial trade in Salem by granting charters to wealthy individuals for the development of railroads and canals in the countryside. Such inland transportation systems further diverted shipping from Salem to the Hub, which triggered a second exodus of Salem's wealthy merchants who wished to maintain their shipping fortunes.[31] This gradual decline of Salem over two decades severely harmed John Remond's provisioning business and encouraged his subsequent transition to other means of livelihood. He was a resourceful and shrewd businessman, who seemed to stay ahead of economic disaster through diversification. His catering business continued to prosper as his provisioning business declined. Nancy was certainly instrumental in keeping the family income secure, contributing the earnings from the sale of her fancy cakes and pastries. Mrs. Remond also served dinner for "a dozen gentlemen at the fashionable hour of two o'clock."[32] Moreover, there was a steady income from the sale of the Remond's famous turtle soup and in particularly hard times, John could always turn to his talents as a barber. In 1828, that is exactly what he did.

The change in business advertised in 1828 reflected Remond's hairdressing business. By January 1829, John was advertising the Derby Square Dressing Room

at No. 8 Derby Square, open to customers for shaving, curling, cutting and hair dressing.[33] Remond had rebuilt his clientele by midyear and re-opened his store at No. 8, moving the hairdressing business to a smaller space. By August, there seemed to be a resurgence in the provisioning business though ads placed continued to emphasize items suitable for family use. By April 1830, Remond added a new dimension, bottling cider for families and supplying local Porter and Ale, particularly from the Salem Federal Street Brewery.

It is important to note that John Remond never abandoned any of his enterprises; he simply shifted the resources in response to the economic climate. He could not have maintained his businesses without the help of his wife and children. It is clear that his trades multiplied as his children matured. Their contribution to the family's success cannot be overlooked. Through their successful work experiences, the children were given foundational skills for their future employment. Their participation as a unit also gave them a sense of family cohesion and involvement.

John Remond's desire to build economic independence for his children is seen in actions he took in September 1832 as he formed an association with his son, Charles, under the name of J. Remond & Son.[34] This date coincides with Remond's increased participation in a effort to integrate Salem's schools and his interest in the anti-slavery movement. Perhaps he was attempting to turn the business over to Charles, his eldest son, so that he could devote more time to

community activism - a tradition that dated back to the first decade of the 19th century.

As this turn of events suggests, the Remonds did not limit their energies to their varied businesses. They were also active members of the black community, involving themselves in self-help organizations and fighting for equal rights for themselves and the black community at large. In 1805, John joined the Sons of Africa Society, an organization founded on the principal of self-help and worthy conduct. This organization conducted funerals, and weddings and often sponsored meetings to discuss issues in the black community. It also helped politicize the black community. As an active member, John Remond and at least three other black leaders helped organize the black citizens of Roast Meat Hill into an effective voting block. They were so successful that education historian, Arthur O. White, stated that white citizens complained that "non-existent" and "ineligible" blacks were voting. "One disappointed candidate even accused his opponent of using Negro women dressed as men to defeat him."[35] John also served as a wire puller for the Federalist Party. Establishing himself as a political leader brought respect from both the white and black communities.

The Sons of Africa met at the Branch Meeting House, a church pastored by white minister, Joshua Spaulding because there was no black church in Salem in 1805. However, by 1827, Remond was instrumental in establishing the black United Bethel Church. Eleanor Broadhead indicated that he was extremely loyal to his church and helped with its support.[36] That same year, he also became an

authorized agent of the first black newspaper, Freedom's Journal, which was founded by Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm. In 1831, he was one of the four-hundred blacks who subscribed to William Lloyd Garrison's Liberator and in 1833 became a life member of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

The elder Remond created quite a stir in Salem in 1833. Some white ministers had invited Mr. Danforth of the American Colonization Society to speak at the black Union Bethel Church for the exclusive benefit of the black population. A church member, seeking advice in the matter, informed Remond of the upcoming event. He was concerned about the propriety of having Danforth at the church. After assessing the details of the invitation, Remond thought it best to allow Danforth to speak. However, to ensure a balanced meeting, he extended an invitation to William Lloyd Garrison or Arnold Buffum to speak at the assembly so that both sides of the debate could be heard. When Danforth heard that Buffum was in the audience, he refused to speak, greatly upsetting the white citizens of Salem who had invited him. In a letter to The Liberator, Remond explained that his actions were meant to provide an opportunity for the black community to make an informed choice. He also voiced his thoughts concerning slavery and the position of free blacks in America. For Remond, colonization was unacceptable. In his letter, he took a strong abolitionist stance, stating,

> I say immediate abolition - for I am convinced we must plead for that alone: firstly because the object of the Colonization Society is to get rid of the free colored population - secondly, it slanders and persecutes them, and it aims to remove them, that the chains of the slave may be rivetted more securely.[37]

While admonishing free blacks to abhor the doctrines of the Colonization Society, he also expressed some tentativeness in relying exclusively on Buffum and Garrison. However, he did feel that they were at least sincere in their desire to help people of color. This letter reveals a man determined to expose Salem's black and white citizens to both sides of the issue of colonization. It also reveals a man who was not intimidated by white men. John Remond let Salem's citizenry know that he invited Buffum and that he would continue to invite the opposing views so that people could judge for themselves. His tactics were successful, as Danforth and Buffum scheduled meetings and debates in Salem on colonization. Danforth was so insecure that he brought a contingent from Andover Theological Seminary and from Boston to help plead his cause. It seems he had support among Salem's clergy, but not much from the public.[38]

Surely, their father's activism did not go unnoticed by Remond's children. Sarah would have been nearly nine years old when colonization was debated - old enough to understand what was happening. John Remond was a role model for all his children in regards to political activism. He had well developed philosophical ideas on the abolition of slavery and he acted on his beliefs. Just as Sarah must have been aware of her father's activism, she was also cognizant of the role her mother, Nancy, played in shaping her world. While she is characterized as an energetic woman who taught her daughters to knit, sew and cook, Nancy was also stern, demanding and insisted on perfection in the slightest endeavor.[39] As she taught her children to be industrious, and as she instilled a thorough knowledge of

the domestic duties of New England womanhood, she also advised them of prejudice and the challenges it posed. Nancy Remond sought to protect her children from the harsh realities of being a member of the darker race, but encouraged strength of character and the courage to face the world with a sense of pride in who they were. Sarah said of her mother:

> While our mother never excused those who unjustly persecuted those whose only crime was a dark complexion, her discipline taught us to gather strength from our own souls; and we felt the full force of the fact, that to be black was no crime, but an accident of birth.[40]

Nancy often reminded her children that they came from several generations of free blacks, born in America, and that their grandfather fought in the Revolutionary War. As one who was so acutely aware of her lineage and of the inferior status of black people in America, it is no wonder that Nancy Remond "rejoiced at the advent of William Lloyd Garrison," a man who believed that "the negro was a man."[41] Sarah recalled attending abolitionist meetings as a child and credited her mother with providing that exposure. Attributing her activism to the example set by her mother is reflective of gender issues at that time. Since organizations were formed along gender lines, Sarah's opportunities to attend meetings were dependant on Nancy's activism. There was no way for her to have that same experience with her father.

Nancy was a member of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was organized by a group of black women in 1832, and which joined forces with other anti-slavery societies in the effort to abolish slavery. It was dedicated to mutual

improvement and served a broader role in the uplift of Salem's black community.[42] Nancy Remond was probably among the forty Massachusetts women who met in 1818 to form the Colored Female Religious and Moral Society in Salem. Though her name does not appear in the founding document, Mrs. Mercy Morris, whose husband York worked closely with Nancy's husband, John, is listed on its visiting committee.[43] It is clear that the Remond partnership was dedicated early on to participation in bettering the conditions of black citizens both bound and free.

Just as he had strong beliefs about the abolition of slavery, John Remond also believed that a quality education should be available to all citizens, including blacks. This became a pressing issue as his children entered school. In his mind, access to the best education was one of the rights that Salem society was obliged to grant his offspring. Salem's leaders did not agree. While Salem's white schools had appropriate financial resources, first-class teachers, and a supportive learning environment, black students seeking education were faced with inadequate facilities and resources for learning as well as inferior instruction. These conditions propelled the Remonds to campaign for integration of Salem's schools. In the early 1830s, his cause centered around his three youngest children, Maritche Juan, Sarah, and Caroline.

In the first decades of the 1800s, John Remond observed the school board's early attempts to educate black children. Primary training was provided at the African School from 1807 until 1823 when the school was closed. From 1823 to 1826, all of Salem's children of color, including some of the Remonds, attended an

integrated school. Integration was not long tolerated, however, and an African Writing School was established in 1826 for black children who were removed from the integrated school. Completion of the Writing school at approximately age 11, ended formal education for them, although white children could go on to high schools. In 1827, the African School closed once again and black children were denied access to any schooling until the early 1830s.[44] These changes in the school system coincided with the spread of abolitionist sentiment.

In the early 1830s, as free blacks had begun to protest slavery and agitate for their own civil rights, David Walker, a black resident of Boston urged northern blacks to "aspire to higher attainments than wielding the razor and cleaning boots and shoes."[45] While encouraging blacks to have higher aspirations, Walker also recognized that Massachusetts society would not allow black citizens to pursue any business or occupation other than barber, waiter, or shoe-black - no matter how intelligent he or she might be. Be that as it may, Walker devoted much of his writing to pointing out the need for black parents to fight for a decent education for their children. "[I]gnorance[,] the mother of treachery and deceipt[,] grows into our very vitals" as a cancer which perpetuated the degradation of blacks. The segregated, inferior Northern schools turned out black children who, even after several years of schooling, could not read.[46] Walker's consciousness-raising Appeal in Four Articles: With Preamble to the Colored Citizens of the World not only spoke of the conditions in the North, but gave encouragement to militant action by slaves in the South. The Appeal was widely read by Boston's black

citizenry and also captured the attention of black Salem. Nancy Remond certainly read Walker's polemic, and she hailed him as a "young and noble apostle of liberty."[47] It was one year after the publication of Walker's Appeal that Salem's black citizens took a more militant stance for quality education for their children.

David Walker was found dead in 1830 outside his Boston clothing store. His untimely death left a void in the struggle for equality, but not for long. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison took up the anti-slavery crusade armed with The Liberator. While not a militant call to arms for slaves, Garrison's editorials demanded immediate abolition and acknowledged blacks as men and women worthy of the same rights guaranteed to whites. Garrison believed that these rights were ordained by God and therefore could not be altered by men. His paper was designed for blacks, as it reported not only on the activities of his anti-slavery efforts, but virtually every activity in black communities throughout the North. The Liberator connected black leaders in cities from Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, to Salem and beyond. As the years passed, and as the Remonds had the opportunity to hear Garrison speak in 1831 when he visited Salem, John Remond eventually became "one of three Massachusetts blacks to spend $15.00 for life membership in Garrison's Boston-based [anti-slavery] Society."[48] By 1834, both blacks and whites in Salem founded the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

It was in this context that John Remond resolved to work toward change in Salem, beginning with the public schools. Maritche Juan, Sarah and Caroline had reached school age (set by Salem as ages 4 through 16) concurrent with the turmoil

over educating black children. According to Sarah, as told to Matthew Davenport Hill, they were "from time to time" taught to read and write, but had no formal or regular instruction. On several occasions, Nancy Remond attempted to enroll her children in private schools, only to be denied access due to discrimination. Eventually, the three girls were admitted to one of the white primary schools near their Hamilton Hall residence. While they were treated decently by the teacher and most of the children, they did not escape the odious prejudice that permeated Salem.

Sarah and her sisters had been denied a formal education for such a long period of time, that after an attenuated stay in primary school, they were too old to continue there. The two oldest girls, Sarah and Maritche, took the examination for the girls' high school, and actually attended for a few days when the principal indicated that the school committee once again contemplated establishing a separate school for colored children. Such a school would require black children to leave their neighborhood for a long commute. On top of this inconvenience, the plan called for a one-room school, for children of all ages, sexes, and capabilities, instead of the normal divisions by residence, age, sex, and capacity.

John Remond lodged a formal protest against the plan with the school committee. His daughters were allowed to remain at the integrated high school, with the town's wealthy whites near Hamilton Hall. They were probably placed in a segregated setting under the tutelage of William Dodge, "the city's most competent instructor,"[49] but even this failed to satisfy the white community, which

intensified its effort to have the girls removed. As a result, the ehildren were told by their teacher that they would no longer be allowed to set foot in the sehool by order of the school committee. The teaeher aceompanied a tearful Sarah and her sister home to convey the sad news to their parents.

Refusing to send his daughters to the "inferior" segregated faeility, and deeming a proper education to be more valuable than the businesses they had established in Salem, the Remond's reloeated to Newport, Rhode Island, for seven years (1835-1842).[50] There, according to historian Shirley Yee, Sarah and Caroline attended a private school for blacks.[51] The eldest Remond daughter, Nancy, who had married James Shearman in Mareh, 1834, remained in Salem, at the Hamilton Hall residence. Since Shearman was not only a friend of her father, but also his assistant in the oyster business, it was not neeessary for John Remond to completely abandon his Salem businesses.[52]

James Shearman may have influeneed the ehoice of Newport as it was his birthplace.[53] The social atmosphere in Newport seemed on par with the racial animus that existed in Salem. Though the Remonds were unwilling to send their daughters to a Jim Crow public school in Salem, they had no objeetion to the private segregated school in Newport. This school had been established "by a few of the more influential of the colored citizens," aceording to Sarah's recollections.[54] Newport provided the opportunity for the Remond offspring to mingle with a blaek community composed of an aspiring middle-class. It also offered John Remond the

scope to establish a Perfumery and [Hair] Dressing Room at N. 137 Thames Street.[55]

The eldest son, Charles, who had been trained in barbering, had become an avid and active abolitionist by the time the family relocated. Though he moved to Newport with the family, he was often away attending abolitionist meetings. At home, other black activists frequented the Remond home. William Cooper Nell, black abolitionist and leader of the drive to integrate Boston schools in the 1850s, recalled that he first encountered the family in Newport. In a letter to Amy Post, the New York abolitionist, he mentions that he was especially taken with Caroline Remond's beauty.[56] The presence of Nell and other abolitionists in the Remond's home owed largely to Charles's expanding role in the abolitionist movement. In 1832, prior to the family's move, Charles had become an agent for The Liberator, and for The Colored American. By 1838 he became the first black lecturer for the American Anti-slavery Society, touring Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Maine.

Charles was well-received by anti-slavery advocates who in the early 1840s sought his opinion whenever they wished to establish the "Negro's position" on slavery.[57] He attended the World Anti-slavery Convention in June, 1840 along with Garrison, Nathaniel Rogers of New Hampshire, and William Adams, a Harvard professor of oriental languages from Pawtucket, Rhode Island.[58] After initial disappointment over the treatment of women delegates at the convention, Remond was permitted to speak, along with Garrison and other anti-slavery stalwarts. He remained in the British Isles for eighteen months, lecturing throughout Ireland and

Scotland from July 1840 until December 1841, to temperance, church, and antislavery groups.[59] He returned to the United States with a petition signed by 60,000 Irish citizens denouncing slavery and urging fellow Irish in the United States to do the same.[60]

Shortly after Charles's return to America in 1841, we find the Remond family back in Salem where John Sr. and John, Jr. worked as barbers at 16 Washington Street. Their residence at 11 Pond Street in the southern section of the city,[61] was in a neighborhood of primarily black citizens. John Remond may have owned this property prior to the move to Newport, because he had advertised a "two-story house to let in South Salem," in 1829.[62]

The conditions in the Salem schools, which caused the Remonds to leave in 1835, had not improved in 1842. Salem still maintained a school for colored children near Mill Street, with a total enrollment of sixty-seven serviced by a single teacher. John Remond, with the assistance of his son, Charles, once again became involved in demanding integration of Salem's schools. Now he fought for his grandchildren. His eldest daughter, Nancy Shearman, had four children by 1842, two of whom (Ellen, age 8, and John, age 6) were school age. By fall 1843, the campaign to desegregate the schools was well underway. John Remond went to the school committee demanding that his grandchildren be allowed to attend the primary school in the area of their home. When the school committee denied the request, a boycott of the school for colored children ensued, causing enrollment to drop from sixty-seven to a mere seventeen pupils.[63]

The year 1843 saw renewed black protest, not only in Salem, but throughout Massachusetts. Garrison's followers had won a fight to integrate Massachusetts' trains (largely due to the protests of Charles Remond), and successfully petitioned the legislature to repeal a law banning interracial marriages.[64] These activities engaged Salem's abolitionist Mayor, Stephen Phillips, who joined black citizens in the drive to close the school for colored children. He took steps to appoint a school committee sympathetic to the wishes of the black community. With Phillips's support, by March 1844 the committee voted to end segregated education.[65]

John Remond's ability to engage people in positions of importance in his reform efforts is a clear indication of his leadership skills. He was a man who understood social and political hierarchies and used them to his advantage. He demonstrated that ingenuity and tenacity were invaluable assets. In his efforts to change social conditions in Salem, he first attempted to confront the school committee as an individual on behalf of his daughters. When that didn't work, and because he needed an immediate solution, he moved to a location where he felt he was in control. On his return to Salem, he changed his tactics, utilizing the power of mass communication available through the newspapers, and exercising the power of the boycott. He did all this with his son Charles by his side. Just as John Remond had mentored his son and established an economic partnership in the 1830s, he also trained him as a partner in political activism.

The Remond's expectation of economic success and political activism was not limited to their eldest son. John and Nancy Remond expected all of their children to follow their lead. They encouraged affiliation with people who shared not only their political beliefs, but their work ethic as well. As the Remond children reached adulthood, parental expectations were met and perhaps surpassed.

With the exception of Charles and Sarah, the Remond children established themselves in either catering or hairdressing trades during the 1840s. John Jr. continued his father's barbering business, while Cecilia, Maritche Juan, and Caroline established themselves in hairdressing and wig-making. Little is known about John Jr.'s business, except that he maintained it in Salem until 1859. There is no record of him or the business afterwards, though his sisters ran a highly successful enterprise. They advertised "wigs, half-wigs, bands, frizette & curls made to order," and also cleaned wigs, shampooed ladies' hair, and offered children's hair cuts.[66]

Nancy Remond Shearman and her sister Susan chose catering. Nancy and her husband took over the living space at Hamilton Hall when the rest of the family moved to Rhode Island. They continued catering affairs in her parents' absence and assisted with affairs upon the family's return. Susan H. Remond became a fancy cake maker and confectioner, assisting her mother in her business out of their home at 5 Higginson Square. Sarah was also involved in her mother's business immediately after the return from Newport because domestic obligations forced her to. She learned the trade, but never really used its skills. Susan, on the other hand,

learned the business so well that her pastries and confections were widely sought by Salem's citizens. A family friend, Maritcha Lyons, recalled visits to Susan's kitchen. According to Lyons, Susan worked at home making bread, cakes, pastry, jellies and confections, and ran a small dining room on Essex Street "where none were eligible to entrance save the most exclusive of the townsmen and their specially invited guests...[h]er kitchen was a Mecca where gathered radicals, free thinkers, abolitionists, female suffragists, fugitives."[67]

Though Susan never married, her sisters chose spouses with comparable business interests. Cecilia's husband, James Babcock, ran a hairdressing business next door to the hair works on Washington Street. He advertised haircutting, curling shampooing and shaving for men.[68] James and Cecilia had three daughters, Gertrude (1844 - 1863), Agnes (1846 - 1888), and Cecilia (1848 - 1922).[69] The youngest daughter, Cecilia, like her mother, became a well-respected business woman. As partners, mother and daughter ran the hair works business until Cecilia Remond Babcock's death in 1912. Cecilia Babcock operated the business alone until her death ten years later.[70] The eldest Remond daughter, Nancy, married her father's business associate, James Shearman. As mentioned before, they continued the catering business at Hamilton Hall and James also ran an oyster bar and ice cream parlor. By 1857, their son, John Remond Shearman, had joined his uncle, James Babcock, as a hairdresser. One of their daughters, Ellen Shearman Cassell, ran the catering business established by her grandfather. In the tradition of John Remond, the Cassell catering business was responsible for preparing a dinner in

honor of Theodore Roosevelt. They also served major parties in Hamilton Hall in the early twentieth century.[71] Thus, the economic activities of the Remond family spanned three generations.

The Remond's youngest daughter, Caroline, married Joseph H. Putnam of Boston (a very close friend of William Cooper Nell), who had been a teaching assistant at the Abel Smith School for black children. His family moved to Salem in 1845 after an unsuccessful attempt to integrate Boston's schools. Joseph's father, George, was a hairdresser, and Joseph had been taught the trade.[72] This marriage best exemplifies the combination of economic and political compatibility. George Putnam had been active in the struggle against slavery and prejudice in Boston. It was probably at an 1831 meeting to discuss the Manual College for Colored Youth that he made contact with the Remond family. His son, Joseph, had been an active member of the Boston Vigilance Committee and worked to help fugitives. When he married Caroline Remond in 1846, she was already active in antislavery work as well as her own hair business. Four years after their marriage, Joseph had established his own hairdressing business near Susan's lunchroom on Essex Street.[73]

By 1851, Caroline abandoned her partnership with her sister, Cecilia, to join her husband in his business. An advertisement in the directory for that year listed Joseph as a hair cutter and wig maker, and Caroline as a ladies' hairdresser and manufacturer of hair work.[74] In 1853, Joseph went West to seek a fortune in gold for his family, not to California, but "down-under" to Australia.[75] Upon arrival in Australia, Putnam resided in Melbourne where he found work as a hairdresser. He

remained there for three years, returning to Massachusetts in 1856 by way of England and France. William C. Nell, with whom Putnam corresponded regularly, believed he brought home a "handsome sum of money."[76]

During Putnam's absence, Nell accompanied Caroline and Sarah to abolitionist meetings and social events. He apparently developed a fondness for Sarah during this time which was noticed by Charlotte Forten, a guest in the Charles Remond household. Forten felt that Nell was in love with Sarah. She wrote in her journal, *"Thursday, August 27* [1857]...Received a note and paper from our friend Mr. N[ell] who has quite lost the little heart he had left, to our charming S.[arah], I think, Poor Man!"[77] While Nell's letters indicate an interest in Sarah Remond, he never admits to being in love with her. He mentioned to a friend in 1856, that she was still in "blessed singleness." He also expressed concern in letters to Amy Post to be seen in a favorable light by Sarah.[78] In a letter to Wendell Phillips, written August 24, 1857, he stated, "unless I succeed in obtaining some profitable employment..., I shall leave here in the spring... I would change my Bachelor situation (and could do it advantageously) if I could only be earning regular substantial wages."[79] Nell may have believed that Sarah's father would not have given her permission to marry someone who wasn't economically settled. While there are no indications of Sarah's interest in Nell, his comments seem to indicate that he believed the Remonds placed a premium on economic stability; antislavery activism alone could not guarantee membership in the family circle.

Just as the Remond children continued their parents' pattern of economic success, they were also involved to some degree in antislavery activism. The Remond spouses, along with being financially secure, were also antislavery activists. From "sewing bees" at Cecilia Babcock's, to antislavery meeting at Susan Remond's home, activism was part of their daily lives. Caroline Remond Putnam served as Vice-President of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1858, and President in 1859, remaining an officer in that society until its dissolution in 1866. Though all of her siblings were activists, Sarah Remond was most influenced by her brother, Charles Lenox Remond. She was close to him and followed his abolitionist career with great interest.

As the abolitionist movement spread, Charles's lecture schedule became more demanding. While his position as agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society took him to Maine, Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the late 1830s and early 1840s, the late 40s and early 1850s brought him to venues as far away as Ohio. Charles not only lectured against slavery, he also spoke out against the indignities that free blacks had to endure. In that vein, he was invited to testify before the Massachusetts Legislature concerning the Jim Crow system in Massachusetts transportation, especially on the trains. His testimony helped eradicate Jim Crow practices on public carriers.[80] In 1853, Remond also served as President of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society.

Though Charles met many people throughout his travels, his schedule did not permit much of a personal life. In 1850, at age 40, Charles was one of four

Remond children still single and living with his parents. That circumstance soon changed for by 1853, Charles married Amy Matilda Williams Cassey, daughter of abolitionist minister, Peter Williams of New York City. Amy Matilda was a widow who had five children, three of whom followed her to Salem when she married Charles. Mrs. Remond was also an ardent abolitionist who assisted her husband in his efforts as a speaker. She welcomed Garrison, Wendell Phillips, William C. Nell, William Wells Brown, Abigail and Stephen Foster and many other abolitionists to their home.[81] She was also active in soliciting signatures for Nell during his 1854 campaign to desegregate Boston schools and in helping to raise money for fugitive slaves. She died in 1856 at age 47, leaving no children from the marriage to Charles.[82] After the death of his wife, Charles continued on the lecture circuit and was joined by Sarah in November of that year. The two Remonds traveled together as agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society for the next two years.[83]

In December 1858, Sarah left for a lecture tour in England, leaving Charles to continue on his own. In the years leading up to the Civil War and in its early stages, he carried on the battle against slavery and prejudice. Remond criticized Lincoln's war policies as harmful to black men. His attacks on Lincoln were also directed toward fellow abolitionists who failed to see the flaws in Lincoln's position. When Lincoln finally saw abolition of slavery as a war aim, Remond was one of the black leaders who recognized that the Emancipation Proclamation really didn't free anyone because the regions specified in the document were those still

under Confederate control. His criticism of Lincoln set him at odds with many white abolitionists.

Notwithstanding all his banter about Lincoln, when Remond received an order from Massachusetts' Governor, John A. Andrew, to help recruit black men for the Union Army, he readily heeded the call, joining other black abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, John Mercer Langston, and Henry Highland Garnet as recruiting agents.[84] These men eventually brought in enough black recruits to form the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth and Fifty-Fifth Volunteer Infantries.

When the War finally ended and Congress adopted the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery forever, Remond celebrated the victory. However, he never stopped pushing for full equality for black citizens and the end of discrimination. Like his sister, Caroline, Charles argued against disbanding abolitionist societies in 1865. He also felt that much work remained and that the effort should continue until black men had full political and civil equality. His deeply felt beliefs in this area finally created a rift with William Lloyd Garrison.[85] Remond's last public speeches as an abolitionist were on the subject of the suffrage amendment. Although a supporter of woman's suffrage in the past, he vehemently opposed associating woman suffrage and black male suffrage, choosing to treat them as separate issues. He was one of the supporters of the first meeting of the Equal Rights Association held in New York City in 1867, and then left the public lecture circuit. He had received a federal appointment as a stamp clerk at the

Boston Custom House, a job he held until his death in December 1873. He did remarry (Elizabeth Magee) and had three children, Amy Matilda, Wendell Phillips and Charles Lenox, Jr. None of his children lived past the age of twenty; all are buried in Harmony Grove Cemetery in Salem.

The Remond family certainly cannot be labeled as "ordinary." Both parents and children made significant contributions not only to their immediate community, but also to the larger cause of abolition and ending discrimination. John and Nancy Remond created a solid foundation upon which their progeny built successful businesses and from which they remained active in the quest to create equality for black people. This strong work ethic and reform sensibility was passed to the grandchildren of John and Nancy Remond as well. Caroline Remond Putnam's son, Edmund Quincy, became a physician, Cecilia Remond Babcock's daughter Cecilia continued the wig manufacturing business in Salem until her death in 1922. Nancy Remond Shearman's daughter Ellen Shearman Cassell ran the catering business established by her grandfather, and her son, John, continued in the barbering business.[86]

Sarah Parker Remond was the only child who did not make her mark in Salem business (even Charles advertised a barbering business and small dining room at various times in Salem) even though she was trained in the family enterprises. Why did she make a conscious choice to travel a path so different from her siblings? The following chapter will look deeper into her younger years and the effects of her experiences on her choices.

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23. Salem Observer, Vol. IV, No. 1; Jan. 5, 1828.

24. Salem Observer, Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 3, 1824.

25. Salem Observer, Vol. III, No. 23, June 4, 1825; Vol. III, No. 43, Oct. 22, 1825.

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William Gray (the wealthiest merchant in Salem) who supported the Embargo, to leave town and establish businesses in Boston. When some of his contemporaries realized his success in Boston, they followed suit. This exodus of merchants did not end the commercial enterprises in Salem, but it did serve to remove capital from the area. John Remond was not effected by the first exodus of Salem elites as he had not yet entered the provisioning business. The exodus of merchants may well have enured to his favor, creating a void that enabled him to become a provisioner.

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51. Shirley Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828 - 1860, (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1992), p. 35.

52. Dorothy B. Porter, The Remonds of Salem, Massachusetts, p. 289.

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CHAPTER 3

FROM PARLOR PARLANCE TO PUBLIC FORUM: THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE OF SARAH REMOND

In Spring 1853, Sarah P. Remond, and her younger sister Caroline Remond Putnam, sent a messenger to purchase three tickets for the opera Don Pasquale featuring Madame Henriette Sontag. On May 4, Sarah and Caroline, accompanied by William Cooper Nell, presented their tickets to the doorkeeper at the Howard Atheneum in Boston. They were admitted to the theater, but stopped as they proceeded to their seats by A. Palmer, Madame Sontag's manager.[1] C. P. Philbrick, a police officer at the theater, who was summoned to the scene, offered the trio seats in the gallery, which was set aside for African-Americans, or a refund of their money. When they refused both offers and insisted on taking the seats, Philbrick attempted to remove them from the theater, pushing Sarah down a flight of stairs, ripping her dress, and causing bodily injury in the process. The Remond sisters brought suit against Palmer and Philbrick, which resulted in a monetary settlement for Sarah in the amount of $500 and the right to attend the opera in the section of the theater normally reserved for white patrons.[2]

An inscription written by Sarah on the back of a small print presented to her attorney makes clear that this act was a deliberate attempt to desegregate Boston's theaters. It reads, "Given to Charles G. Davis by the colored women of Boston in appreciation of his efforts to have the coloreds sit with whites in Boston Opera - 1854."[3] This inscription confirms that Remond's action was not coincidence, but a

well thought out plan to test the foundations of racism and discrimination in the public theaters and halls. Remond knew that she could never have purchased three tickets in the white section of the theater, hence the hiring of a messenger. Her refusal to sit in the gallery reserved for colored patrons and her insistence on taking the seats for which tickets were purchased was a deliberate act of civil disobedience - an early forerunner of sit-ins and protests of the twentieth century staged to gain equality for the African-Americans citizens of Boston. Ms. Remond was determined to do her part to make inroads toward that goal for all so-called freemen in the northern states.

One must ask, how did Sarah Remond come to embrace such radical activism? Surely racism, discrimination, and the existence of slavery in the Southern states were compelling issues that could not be ignored, but beyond familial models, what were the influences that sent Sarah Remond on an individual, and seemingly radical, crusade to make a difference in the North? To answer these questions it is necessary to examine how childhood experiences, self-image, and a sense of empowerment combined with society's perceptions of African-American women, informed her activism. Her need to be free of stigmas attached to the African-American race are also explored. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Sarah's parents were a formative force. Even more significant was the model of her brother Charles Lenox Remond who preceded her as an abolitionist speaker. In addition to these influences, circumstances of more personal significance

(encounters with racism and sexism) sealed her dedication to the cause of equality and freedom for African-Americans.

* * * * *

Born June 6, 1824, Sarah Ann Parker Remond was the ninth of ten children in the family of John and Nancy Remond. By the time she was born, her father had been established as a provisioner and, along with Nancy, had been praised for his culinary accomplishments for just short of two decades. As a couple, they were well known as the exclusive caterers and caretakers at Hamilton Hall, a beautiful brick structure which still stands on the corner of Chestnut and Cambridge Streets in Salem. The edifice was originally built as a dance hall, but parties, fairs, plays and concerts were also held in the hall and supper rooms.[4] The dance hall was accented by imported mirrors over two large fireplaces. Salem's elites and important political and military figures frequented Hamilton Hall. Sarah spent the first eleven years of her life here, in this neighborhood of wealthy merchants and ship captains who inhabited the elegant homes lining Chestnut Street. These neighbors were often visitors at her home, but they came to be served, and saw themselves as miles apart from this African-American family.

The separation was not the result of differences in values, for the Remond children were taught the same cultural values as their white neighbors. Rather, the separation was the result of class and racial attitudes. Those who did not hesitate

to frequent the place where Sarah lived, who were not afraid to be in close proximity to African-Americans in this social setting, were less willing to allow black and white children to be educated together. As noted in Chapter Two, the Remond children were often excluded from Salem's schools. Sarah lamented the fact that she was not allowed to attend school and that her early education was punctuated by hit and miss attempts at private tutoring.[5] When she was finally allowed to attend the neighborhood school, the other children often shunned her and her sisters.

A childhood event burned in her memory was her removal from the high school. Sarah and Maritche had taken and passed the exam required for entrance to the high school, and although allowed to attend for a few days, pressure from her Chestnut Street neighbors forced the school committee to order their removal from the school. This event had a profound effect on Sarah's life. She stated that upon notification of her dismissal,

> I had no words for anyone; I only wept bitter tears; then in a few minutes, I thought of the great injustice practiced upon me, and longed for some power to help me crush those who robbed me of my personal rights.... the memory of it is as fresh as ever in my mind, and, like the scarlet letter of Hester, is engraven on my heart.[6]

The magnitude of this humiliation in the life of an eleven year old child is vividly captured in Sarah's words, words written a quarter of a century after the event. From the moment of this very painful experience until she gained a public platform of expression, Sarah Remond had to find other avenues for venting her frustration and anger at a system premised on white supremacy.

Sarah's expulsion from the all-white high school in 1835, and the prospect of being relegated to a segregated public school, set into motion the uprooting of the entire family in an effort to ensure the further education of the younger siblings. The Remonds moved to Newport, Rhode Island, where Sarah's father, John, purchased property at 137 Thames Street, the site of their home as well as the location for John's hairdressing and oyster shops and her mother's cake and confection business.[7]

Newport provided a totally different environment from that which Sarah had known in Salem. No longer were home and the means of livelihood located among the elite white population. No longer would she be physically isolated from the African-American community. Her Newport home stood at the head of Champlain's Wharf in an area of Thames Street that housed other black owned businesses, only a few blocks from Newport's black district. Thus, Sarah had to make the transition, not only to a new town, but from an environment where she was surrounded by wealthy white families, to one composed of middle-class African-Americans.[8] Newport's African-American community of 435 people in 1835 was nearly twice as large as Salem's.[9]

Newport's African-Americans were also more active than Salem's, or at least they left a more complete record of their activity. As early as 1780, the community organized the African Union Society for the purpose of promoting their welfare by providing records of births, deaths, and marriages, helping apprentice blacks, and assisting community members in distress.[10] Out of this organization came the

African Benevolent Society organized in January, 1808 "with the sole purpose of opening and maintaining a school for Black children."[11] The Society purchased a schoolhouse in October of that year because the town did not educate its black children at this time. Twenty-seven years later, it was in this schoolhouse that Sarah Remond would continue her education.

Thus when Sarah started school in 1835, it was not in one of Newport's public schools. Rather, Sarah moved from an environment in Salem where segregated public education was the only available option, to one where segregated private education was the only option. Initially it sounds ironic that the Remonds uprooted an entire household to go from one form of segregation to another. Perhaps they were motivated by the issue of control over the quality of the segregated experience. The Newport school was organized by African-Americans for African-Americans. The founder and one of the first teachers, Newport Gardner, believed that the curriculum should prepare African-American children to compete in American society. He was fluent in three languages, English, French and his native African tongue, and an accomplished musician who offered music lessons to the town's youth. Although Gardner became disillusioned with America and actually died while leading a group of blacks back to Africa, the quality of education continued to be important to those who remained. The Women's Auxiliary of the African Benevolent Society closely monitored the quality of the teachers. By the time the Remonds arrived, they were responsible for the day to day administration of the school.

Though no records describe the curriculum during the years of Sarah's attendance, sources do indicate that every effort was made to maintain the school at a level consistent with the desires of the founders.[12] There is evidence that religion was an important part of the curriculum and had been part of the school's design since its inception. Visiting ministers used to meet with the children and members of the community on the fourth Thursday of every month lead religious services.[13] To further promote religious values in the curriculum, the Benevolent Society formed a non-denominational church, the Colored Union Church, in 1824.[14] We know, therefore, that part of Sarah's education included religion, and perhaps French and music. School records also indicate that there was a constant effort to improve the quality of education. Issues such as lengthening the school term, increasing funding, teacher salaries and pupil/teacher ratio were topics of discussion at the annual meetings held to discuss the operation of the school.[15]

While Sarah's parents obviously thought that this school was the best place to continue Sarah's education, Sarah did not share in their feelings. She had decried the segregated public school for colored children in Salem as "publicly branding us with degradation."[16] She was probably surprised and disappointed to find conditions no better in Newport. The prejudice she thought she had escaped existed there as well. Who controlled the segregated facilities didn't matter to her. She had decided that she had a "personal right" to attend school alongside white children because she was "native-born." Given this right, why should she be restricted to a segregated institution, even one organized and controlled by African-

Americans? Her freedom of choice had been stolen, and African-Americans were aiders and abettors to the crime. She found nothing redemptive in segregated institutions for African-Americans. She reflected that

> Separate churches and schools for colored persons are an immense disadvantage to the descendants of the African race and a great drawback to their elevation... and it is to be regretted that many well-wishers to the colored race assist in sustaining them.[17]

While Sarah clearly disapproved of segregated institutions, separate church and school provided education and guidance in an atmosphere meant to uplift, not demean its participants. Even for Sarah, they fostered a desire to gain more knowledge and gave her access to the platform from which she would later voice her displeasure.

Sarah's integrationist tendencies were consistent with her parents' beliefs. The Remonds continued to pursue their goal of equality for themselves and their children in Newport. Once again, John Remond left his imprint on the community, establishing successful businesses and becoming politically active. He was influential in organizing a local subsidiary of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in 1836, only a year after his arrival. The records of the society cite John as one of the founding members. Also listed as charter members were his daughters Susan, Maritcha, and Sarah, and his wife, Nancy.[18]

John Remond and Isaac Rice, (John Lenox Remond's future father-in-law) were among the delegates appointed to the state convention held in Providence in November 1838 and again in November 1839. In December of 1839, John was one

of six men chosen to prepare a plan of operation for future meetings of the Newport group. He was not only a leader, but often addressed the assemblies. Surely Sarah was present at some, if not all, of these meetings - aware again of her father's active role in the fight against slavery. It is interesting to note that the Newport Anti-Slavery Society had a high percentage of African-American members in leadership roles. Sarah's family's abolitionist activism in Newport provided the experience of being in the midst of an African American community which believed in the necessity of cooperative effort to achieve change. In Salem, the family home was removed from the African-American community. Moreover, it was not unusual for that community to be at odds based on political alliances.

The Newport years were significant not only because of her father's antislavery activism, but also because it marked the time when Sarah's brother, Charles, achieved prominence in the American Anti-Slavery Society. As early as 1837, he was speaking before the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society. During this time, white members of the American Anti-Slavery Society were often criticized for their seeming intolerance of their Northern black neighbors. In an effort to change that image, some members embarked on a project to improve conditions for Northern blacks, seeking to give African-Americans a greater voice and presence in the Society.[19] In 1838, they recruited Charles Remond as an agent of the AASS, giving him the distinction of being the first African-American man to hold this position.

Charles's first assignment for the AASS paired him with Ichabod Codding who traveled a lecture circuit through Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire,[20] to speak, raise funds and organize local anti-slavery societies. Charles also toured Maine in the company of Reverend David Thurston, a Congregational minister who emphasized the need for the church to take a stand against slavery. After spending the summer months lecturing in the company of Codding and Thurston, Charles felt confident enough to go out on his own. He proved to be a popular speaker, partly because the audience had never seen a man of color before. The curious were soon captivated by his eloquence, though his antislavery work was not always successful.

Citizens of Maine were not very interested in antislavery and sometimes were outright hostile. Charles often faced discrimination, and exclusion from stagecoaches and lodging because of his color.[21] Consequently, many of his speeches during this period centered on the ill-treatment of free African-Americans solely because of the color of their skin. His effectiveness was further thwarted by the lack of monetary support from the AASS - a financially unstable organization.[22] Initially, Charles refused to let this problem frustrate his efforts as he continued to lecture for the Society, relying on local auxiliaries to provide remuneration. He continued in this vein until some time in 1839, when monetary problems forced him to return to his family in Newport, where he took an active part in the local anti-slavery society in 1839 and 1840.[23]

On the stump, Charles Remond continued to appeal to his audiences' sense of Americanism by declaring that people of color were also Americans and as such

were entitled to the rights and privileges of citizenship. He labeled slavery and prejudice violations of the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights, often pointing to his personal accomplishments as evidence of what African-Americans could achieve if allowed access to the same education as whites. He did not hesitate to stress that *he* had achieved in spite of discrimination.

In the broad circle that encompassed abolitionism, Remond was considered to be a staunch Garrisonian but he also was an independent thinker. At the New England Anti-Slavery Society Convention in 1838, he voted in favor of a resolution to place the names of females on the rolls as members. This vote in favor of the equality of women was very much in line with Garrison's view of the role of women in the abolitionist movement. However, at that same meeting, Remond voted for James Birney's resolution that would have required all abolitionists to vote.[24] At that time, Garrison was often critical of independent politics, and often discouraged abolitionists from participating in the elective process, unless doing so influenced the parties. Obviously, Remond, like other black abolitionists, realized that African-American men could not give up the little power that they had by abandoning the ballot box. The right to vote was a rare and precious right for African-Americans, one that was not to be squandered.

The goals of black abolitionists did not always coincide with those of white abolitionist leaders. In the late 1840s, when Frederick Douglass announced his intention to publish an abolitionist newspaper, Garrison was firmly opposed. Remond believed that a newspaper edited by an African-American would reach an

audience that The Liberator hadn't touched. Accordingly, he and William C. Nell worked with Douglass to solicit subscriptions. He remained so long that Gerrit Smith gave him enough property to qualify him to participate in New York's elective process.[25] While Remond shared many of Garrison's beliefs, he was more than just a follower. He assessed each situation and acted in a manner he saw fit.

Sarah Remond was greatly influenced by her brother's activism and accepted many of his philosophical and political beliefs. She agreed that treatment of the free black community was wedded to the institution of slavery and that the resolution of one rested on the eradication of the other. She also recognized that even those who were "allies" sometimes made decisions that were not necessarily in the best interest of African-Americans. Sarah also saw how her family supported Charles so that he could continue to fight against slavery and discrimination.

In 1840, Charles Remond embarked on another experience that would greatly influence Sarah's future choices. He was selected as a delegate to the World Anti-Slavery Conference held in London, England. It was imperative for him to raise the money for this trip on his own, for the Society could not afford to pay his way. Thanks to the efforts of the Young Ladies Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society of Newport, the Bangor Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Portland Sewing Circle, Charles had enough money to pay for passage and sustain himself for nineteen months abroad.[26] He sailed with Garrison, and white lecture-agents, Nathaniel P. Rogers and William Adams. Remond encountered numerous frustrations associated with the voyage. Deeming the packet Columbus too fancy

for a black man, the ship's agent refused to sell him a ticket. He was finally allowed passage when Adams agreed to share quarters with him. Even this concession was denied once the ship set sail, as the captain relegated him to steerage. After Adams protested, both men were given a bed "at the bottom of the gangway," out in the open.[27] For twenty-five days, Remond endured the insults and ill-treatment from the captain and crew. When given the floor at the World Convention, Remond described his experience:

> In his passage over from New York... he was obliged to take a steerage passage amongst the lowest and most degraded ruffians, by whom he was insulted and abused because God had not furnished him a white skin.[28]

His speech concentrated on prejudice against color, but his comments also shed light on his self perception. He described himself as "a tortured victim" of prejudice, "the more on account of his intellectual superiority."[29] This assessment, coupled with the description of the "lowest and most degraded ruffians" encountered on board the Columbus, reveal an individual who saw himself as superior to certain classes of whites as well as blacks. We will see that Sarah shared some of these beliefs, and may have acquired them from reading her brother's speeches. She was surely aware of her brother's encounters while away from home, as they were well documented in The Liberator.

Charles's travels opened new doors and provided vicarious experiences for Sarah to which she would not have been exposed if he had not chosen to become an abolitionist lecturer. She braved ordeals that were often degrading. Incidents like the Columbus passage added to the bitterness Sarah already felt over her

removal from Salem's schools. The prejudice one hoped to escape could be found everywhere. Yet, Charles's voyage to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London also opened a new world for Sarah. Her brother's descriptions of his reception in England must have stirred Sarah's imagination, planting a seed that would slowly germinate until the time that Sarah traveled to England on her own. In a letter printed in the October 16, 1840 edition of the Liberator, Charles wrote that the abuses heaped upon blacks in the free states of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine and Connecticut did not exist in England. He believed that there was no prejudice against color.[30] He felt "since his arrival in England, as if he were walking upon air - that the terms of perfect equality upon which he stood with all around him, were almost too delightful to be real."[31] Such a roseate description must have intrigued Sarah. Imagine, a place, as Charles envisioned it, where one could be judged on one's merit, not on skin color.

Clearly, Sarah's Newport years were crucial in determining her future course. By choosing to go to Newport, her parents provided an alternative to a hostile environment. Sarah learned you could move to new locales in pursuit of freedom and equality. The Newport years also provided her with a glimpse of what African-Americans could accomplish by working together. She was exposed to a community that provided its own alternatives when the society at large had failed them. Between 1835 and 1840, we have seen how Sarah's brother's activities further broadened her horizons. He also provided introductions to Boston's black abolitionists, particularly Nell, who first met and often visited the family in

Newport.[32] Nell provided a bridge to Boston's and Philadelphia's African-American communities. He became a protege of Charles Remond and enjoyed visiting the Remond family frequently after their return to Salem. As a result, Sarah heard the debates that were formative in developing her own views on abolitionism.

The Remonds went back to Salem early in 1841 after John Remond sold his property and auctioned off some of his fine wines.[33] It is not clear what precipitated the decision to return to Salem, but perhaps the lack of a definitive white elite clientele, or even the fact that black men didn't have the franchise in Rhode Island may have been catalysts. He lacked the leverage needed to pressure white lawmakers into making policy changes favorable to the African-American community, whether for integrated schools or better schools for black children. Perhaps he always intended to return to Salem. Whatever the reasons, the move from Newport signaled the end of Sarah's formal education. Since her services were needed at home in the family businesses, she spent the decade of the 1840s following her brother's career and helping out at home.[34]

Working in the family businesses did not mean Sarah had succumbed to a life as a hairdresser or caterer. In the early 1840s her brother, John Lenox, and two of her sisters, Cecilia and Caroline married, then left their parents' businesses to establish similar enterprises on their own. Sisters Maritcha and Susan also established themselves as independent business women during this decade. Only Charles and Sarah had not become financially independent by taking advantage of

their training. By the mid-1840s, Charles earned his living as a lecturer, and Sarah continued to assist her mother apparently with no desire to strike out on her own.

Nor was Sarah as active as other family members in antislavery. While researcher, Dorothy Porter, and historian Shirley Yee, describe Sarah as an active member of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, a search of those records failed to produce mention of Sarah in any capacity. Her younger sister, Caroline, held several different offices in the 1840s, as did her sister Susan. Her mother and sisters Maritcha and Cecilia, also appear in the meeting records, but there is no mention of Sarah until the late 1850s.

While Sarah was not active in the local societies, there is evidence that she accompanied Charles to local speaking engagements. We know that she was introduced to Boston, white abolitionist, Anne Warren Weston at her home sometime prior to July, 1842. In a letter to Deborah Weston, Anne described Charles as a person of "high breeding." On the other hand, she said that "Miss R on the contrary has many of the manners and ways supposed to be peculiar to her race. She is not in the least like the pretty one we saw at the N[ew] E[ngland] Convention."[35] Perhaps this statement indicates that Sarah needed to polish her manners to conform with white society's standard of behavior, or perhaps it reveals one of the issues that often reared its ugly head among white abolitionists - the issue of preference based on skin color, particularly when women were concerned. The statement does suggest that Sarah had not yet proven herself to be the intellectual equal of her brother, nor was she deemed as pretty as her sister. So, the

decade of the forties provided a number of learning opportunities for her. Not only did she follow her brother's career and gain more exposure to white abolitionists, she also used this time to read and study on her own so that one day she would be ready to stand before an audience with confidence. She said of those years that she had few leisure hours, but read daily.

> Our home was constantly supplied with the best daily and weekly newspapers, and I could obtain from public libraries and often from private libraries of friends, some of the best English and American literature. Reading was the staple and never failing resource.[36]

Upon his return to America in December 1841, Charles was one of the most sought after abolitionist lecturers. His tour of the British Isles, and the reports of his activities in The Liberator, brought him to the attention of many abolitionists outside of New England. Daniel O'Connell's address, which Remond brought back from Ireland, urging the Irish in America to support the cause of African-Americans, also gained much attention.[37] Remond was thrust further into the spotlight by his testimony before the Massachusetts' State Legislature regarding "Jim Crow" accommodations on Massachusetts' railroads. He was the first person of color to address the state legislative body.[38] In his speech, Charles made two important points which became salient for Sarah in the 1850s: skin color should not be the determinant of individual rights, rather, rights should be based on merit;and the existence of Jim Crow cars was an attempt by some to limit the civil rights of black Americans - a right that no man or institution should possess.

On the first point, Charles Remond made it known to Massachusetts lawmakers that he took offense to all blacks being lumped together when decisions concerning their treatment was concerned. He complained,

> No distinction is made by the community in which we live. The most vicious is treated as well as the most respectable, both in public and private...[b]ut it is said we all look alike. If this is true, it is not true that we all behave alike.[39]

This statement clearly shows his displeasure with being lumped together with all manner of folk on the basis of color. This statement also points to class bias. Charles Remond felt he deserved better treatment because of his social class. Just as he objected to being in the presence of "ruffians" aboard the Columbus, he also believed he shouldn't be forced to ride with people of lower classes on Massachusetts public conveyances. In fact, he was so annoyed with the situation that he quickly abandoned public transportation and resorted to hiring private carriages for traveling to his scheduled lectures - at considerable expense.[40] He went on to testify, as he had stated in England, that he and others in his status felt the brunt of prejudice much more because of their higher status and loftier aspirations.

> [T]he higher the aspirations, the loftier our purposes and pursuits, does this iniquitous principle of prejudice fasten upon us, and especial pains are taken to irritate, obstruct and injure. No reward of merit, no remuneration for services, no equivalent is rendered the deserving.[41]

Remond's point was if any legislators examined his credentials, leaving color out of the picture, he would be deserving of the same treatment accorded any one of them.

It seemed he could tolerate differences in accommodations based on class and ability to pay, but not based on racial distinctions.

On the subject of civil rights, Remond pointed out that he was cognizant of the difference between civil and social rights. He was aware of every person's right to choose his or her associates, "but in civil rights, one man has not the prerogative to define rights for another."[42] Why should anyone have the right to determine where one sat on a public conveyance? The larger issue for Charles was that people whom he considered to be "servants" were in a position to order him to ride in inferior accommodations just because of the color of their skin. Another issue was the arbitrary nature of the laws. Charles pointed out that he had a sister who was several shades lighter than himself - light enough to be mistaken for white. He told the committee that if segregation were to be encouraged, he could "be mobbed in Washington Street, on the supposition of walking with a white young lady."[43] Though he convinced the committee members to file an equal rights bill, the Senate did not concur. While he failed on that occasion to desegregate public transportation, appearance before the legislature brought him to the attention of a greater white audience than ever before.[44]

Sarah must have been immensely proud of her brother's popularity and his ability to hold his own in the company of white men. She had every reason to be proud, for Charles was indeed a gifted orator. A letter to the editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard described him as follows;

> Mr. Remond is as black as ebony, an educated man, of more than ordinary talent, and of great eloquence.

> Indeed, so much so, that *at times* he burst forth in strains of impassioned eloquence, worthy of a Channing or an Everett, and inferior only to the great orator of Bunker Hill.[45]

Such accolades soon created a desire to emulate her brother's successes, in spite of the fact that Sarah always felt that she did not have a quality education.[46] In 1853, Sarah Parker Remond acted on the issues her brother so passionately presented to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1842. She knew the rules and policies regarding racial separation at the Howard Antheneum and she chose to defy them. She acted on her brother's belief that no man had the right to determine the rights of another. She was determined to demonstrate that she had a right to purchase tickets for seats in the "circle" and the right to sit where she chose. Jim Crow had no place in the theaters of Boston. That she chose the opera as the test site is something of an elitist statement in itself. Few African-Americans in the 1850s would have been able to afford the $1.00 price of tickets to attend the Opera.[47] So Sarah's attempt to secure rights would benefit an exclusive group of black community members, not the black community at large. However, her successful lawsuit represented a major victory for black Boston in that Sarah and her party were allowed to attend the performance seated in the "family circle," not in the gallery reserved for people of color. This event gained some notoriety for her as it was reported in newspapers in towns as far away as Fitchburg, Massachusetts. The victory led Sarah to participate in an attempt to desegregate the Franklin Exhibition in Philadelphia, in the company of Robert Purvis, Jr. and Sarah

Wood in October, 1853. Again, tickets were purchased and the trio were not allowed into the exhibition on the premise that they did not have valid tickets.[48]

While the Howard Antheneum incident produced a small victory, the Philadelphia encounter yielded nothing but anger for a system that fostered segregation. Robert Purvis, Sr. was so vexed by the incident that he refused to pay his taxes until African-Americans were granted access to public accommodations. Even Sarah's successful lawsuit in Massachusetts did not have lasting impact. In 1856, an encounter similar to Sarah's occurred at the Howard. This time two African-Americans, Julian B. McCrea and John Stephenson, "were refused admission" to the theater even though they had tickets for the performance. It would seem that conditions had worsened, after all Sarah and her party were at least able to get into the theater. These two men were ejected by attendants and brought a suit against Mr. Robert G. Marsh, who was the manager. McCrea lost his suit in the Suffolk Superior Court and then appealed the state Supreme Judicial Court, which upheld the lower court's decision that possession of the ticket did not guarantee the right to enter the theater or take possession of the seats.[49] Not until 1865 did the legislature pass a bill which declared that discrimination based on color or race was "unlawful in any public place of amusement, public conveyance, or public meeting in this commonwealth."[50]

Perhaps Sarah won her case because she had filed a criminal complaint against C.P. Philbrick, the security guard who pushed her. Her case was heard in the police court before Judge Russell, who ruled in her favor. She then brought a

civil suit against Philbrick and Mr. A. Palmer, the manager, in the First District Court of Essex County. In this case she was awarded $500 in damages and the right to see the opera in the seats for which tickets were purchased.[51] Her case was not decided on the premise that discrimination was unlawful, but that personal rights had been violated and a criminal act had occurred in the process.

Just as she was willing to test the system concerning the rights of individuals, Sarah lent support to others whose rights were being violated. In 1854, she attended the trial of Anthony Burns, the runaway slave who had resided in the Boston area for a number of years, and was arrested under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. This Act authorized federal commissioners to issue warrants, organize posses, and force citizens to catch runaway slaves, on penalty of fine or imprisonment. Sarah and her family were present at the legal proceedings in hopes that a rescue could be arranged if need be.[52] Her interest in the well being of fugitives was partly due to her brother's involvement in the abolitionist movement, but more directly related to her parents' involvement in aiding fugitives. At this point in her life, Remond chose modes of activism that were confrontational and direct. Her willingness to place herself in harms way, while not unique, was surely not common.

While African-American women were involved in the abolitionist movement, their class status within the black community, as well as their gender, often restricted and defined their roles. James O. Horton's work provides us with a model of class structure in the nineteenth-century New England African-American

community. He states that class distinctions were determined by a combination of occupation and levels of respect within the black community.[53] Sociologist, Adelaide M. Cromwell, includes other criteria which function in determining membership in the upper class. She indicates that "in varying degrees, occupation, style of life, family, money, political power, religious and other associational ties, relations to whites, color, respectability and education determine the composition of a given Negro upper class."[54]

The John Remond family met several criteria for membership in the upper class of Salem's black society. Surely, John Remond's early affiliation with the Federalist Party had given him some political influence in Salem. As one of the founders of the United Bethel Church, he commanded respect from the black community. His businesses brought him into contact with Salem's influential white leaders and later his activities in abolitionist societies brought him and his family into contact with the sons of Boston's white Brahmins. In addition, occupations such as barbers and hairdressers, which would not be considered middle or upper class within white society were regarded as such in nineteenth-century black society because of the tremendous influence of their practitioners. Barbershops and hair salons served as political forums for their African-American owners. Very often prominent whites were among their clientele. These people were sometimes the source of information otherwise unavailable to the black community. Remond's enterprise at Hamilton Hall provides further evidence as W.E.B. DuBois also

included caterers among the vanguard of nineteenth-century African-American elites.[55]

Sarah Remond's father, her sisters and brother, John Lenox, earned their living as barbers, hairdressers and restaurant operators or caterers, placing this family squarely within the black upper class. Based on her class background, Sarah Remond would have been expected to actively participate in the female abolitionist societies. Horton states, "Middle-class women were more likely to take part in fund-raising and organizational leadership."[56] Sarah's sisters, Caroline and Susan, clearly fit the pattern. While Sarah Remond was a member of the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, she was only marginally involved in "middle-class" women's activities. It was highly unusual for black middle-class women to be involved in public confrontations such as Sarah's attempt to desegregate public places of entertainment.

Sarah's actions fall outside the usual efforts made by her African-American contemporaries. The Forten women, who came from a well-to-do Philadelphia family, were members and officers in the Quaker city's female anti-slavery organizations. They participated in the efforts of their spouses to shelter fugitive slaves, and wrote articles and poems for Garrison's Liberator. While Sarah Remond placed herself in situations which were bound to evoke the ire of white citizens, the Forten women chose to avoid such encounters. Sarah Louise Forten, in a letter to Angelina Grimke regarding the effect of prejudice, said,

> I am peculiarly sensitive on this point, and consequently seek to avoid as much as possible mingling with those

> who exist under its influence...For our own family...[w]e are not disturbed in our social relations - we never travel far from home and seldom go to public places unless quite sure that admission is free to all - therefore, we meet with none of these mortifications which might otherwise ensue.[57]

Miss Forten ended her commentary by cautioning all of her "Coloured friends" to follow her family's example and spare themselves the pain of prejudice. Sarah Remond never adhered to this cautious policy. Her spirit, along with the modeled activism of her family, urged her into confrontation, which inevitably made her a target of discrimination. She firmly believed that pressure could be brought to bear on white America to abandon its prejudice, and fully expected to suffer the consequences of her actions. It was her firm commitment to secure her God given personal rights that was the driving force behind her actions.

Desegregation of public places was only part of Sarah Remond's agenda. She also made repeated attempts to integrate her church in Salem. She did not divulge the church, but boldly stated that she was "debarred" from public worship because of her refusal to sit in the colored section.[58] This experience led her to abandon formal worship altogether, which was not an unusual choice for Garrisonian abolitionists who often broke with churches that were unwilling to condemn slavery. However, the question of why she chose to worship in a mixed-race congregation when she could have attended a Black church is worth examining.

We know that Sarah's father, John, served on the building committee of Salem's first church for "the Colored people" in 1827. Prior to the establishment of

the church in Salem, her parents were affiliated with Boston's African Baptist Church. The non-denominational Coloured Union Church was most likely her place of worship in Newport. It has already been established that she felt that segregated schools and churches were a "disadvantage and drawback to the elevation" of the race.[59] But why would she choose to abandon public worship rather than attend a segregated church which gave her the choice of sitting wherever she pleased? Sarah explained "[i]t was true that churches had been built for the coloured people, but they were unable to provide ministers whom an educated person could listen to with profit."[60] In this statement, Sarah's elitist attitudes come to the forefront. From her perspective, black ministers were not educated enough, and therefore not of the same caliber as white ministers, so her choice was one of personal preference. While less educated blacks might appreciate the expressiveness of unlettered preachers, she found the experience less than enlightening. In terms of religion, Sarah detached herself from the black community.

As pointed out above, the first eleven years of her life were spent in physical isolation from Salem's black community. She had been taught that she had certain rights that were a birthright which no man could negate. The Newport years certainly taught her how to live among a middle-class black community, but the return to Salem meant a return to a community whose black middle-class had begun to relocate to Boston. Thus, there is a bit of irony in Sarah's actions. She seemed to be embarrassed by the lack of education and inability of the black

community to elevate itself. As a result she shunned association with that element of the community that she might have helped, fearful that she would be considered one of them. On the other hand, she was outraged at white society for putting up the obstacles that assured the continued oppression of her race. Her disassociation from the community did not mean that she was unaware of its problems. She was fully cognizant of the discriminatory practices that abounded in America for they cut across class lines.

Sarah's acts of civil disobedience in the early 1850s were acts of resistance to white racism. They were versions of the resistance professed by David Walker in his "Appeal to Colored Americans" (1829) and by Maria Stewart, the first African-American political speaker, both were of whom active in the 1830s. Stewart often directed her remarks to black women, urging them to action. In a speech delivered before the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of America in spring 1832, she called upon black women to set an example, citing the powerful influence they had on their husbands and children.[61] She called upon African-American women to "[p]ossess the spirit of independence...possess the spirit of men, bold and enterprising, fearless and undaunted. Sue for your rights and privileges."[62] Though she would have only been eight years old at the time, Sarah may have attended Maria Stewart's Boston lectures with her mother and probably read Stewart's speeches in The Liberator. One thing is certain, Maria Stewart would have wholeheartedly sanctioned Sarah Remond's actions.

Sarah's early actions were aimed at changing the way white northerners treated free blacks. Though this form of activism was sufficient for Sarah as an entree into the public sphere, she was privately preparing herself for a different role and waiting for the right moment to make her dream a reality. Glimpses of Sarah's private life are captured in Charlotte Forten's Journals and in the letters of William C. Nell. Charlotte Forten, the granddaughter of prominent Philadelphia abolitionist, James Forten, was sent to Salem in 1854 for training as a teacher. At this time, Philadelphia's schools were segregated and did not offer normal school training for African-Americans. Charlotte lived with Charles Remond and his wife Amy Matilda.[63] Forten's journal entries reinforced Sarah's own observation that she spent a considerable amount of time reading. Her interests in literature ranged from the "Life of Byron," poems of Sappho and Elizabeth Barrett Browning to The Liberator and other anti-slavery literature.[64] Sarah often read aloud the speeches of anti-slavery lecturers having Charlotte Forten and family members for an audience. She did this so often that on one occasion as she read, a Mary Osborne arrived and said "she believed that [they] never talked or read anything but Anti-Slavery; she was quite tired of it."[65]

Reading aloud the speeches of others gave Sarah the opportunity to hone her oratorical skills and practice abolitionist rhetoric before an audience. She also used another medium for public performance - theatrical productions. Both Charlotte Forten and William C. Nell wrote of plays performed at the Remond and Putnam homes. In January 1854, Nell was departing from Boston for Salem "where we are

to have a Dramatic Circle - "Lady of Lyons." He reported that "Annie Woods, Sarah P. Remond, Caroline Putnam, Helen & Adelaide with several from the families...all participate."[66] Even though the audience consisted of family and friends, these forums sharpened her sense of performance.

Another activity which aided in Sarah's development for the future was attendance at Anti-Slavery meetings and functions. Between May and December of 1854, Forten records Sarah's attendance at multiple meetings in Boston, Danvers, Salem and Lawrence. At least three of these meetings were held at Salem's Lyceum Hall. Sarah wished to have an "anti-slavery meeting in the neighborhood every Sunday."[67] In addition, there were Anti-Slavery celebrations and fairs which included those held on July 4th, the British Emancipation celebration held on August 1st, and sewing circles and Christmas Fair held in December.[68] Prominent anti-slavery lecturers such as, Garrison, Phillips, Kelley, and of course, Charles Remond spoke at these events.

Sarah was trying to find her niche in life throughout the mid-1850s. She knew she wasn't cut out for business enterprise. Even when she assisted in her sister's businesses, Sarah was often found at the counter reading a book. At one point, she even questioned whether or not she could work around people. "She thought she was a little inclined to misanthropy." Charlotte Forten agreed with Remond's self-analysis, but went on to say that she thought Sarah's feelings were due to the "daily discoveries of the faithlessness and unworthiness of others."[69] She added, "I particularly admire the uncompromising sincerity which is a prominent

trait of her [Miss Remond's] character."[70] If indeed Sarah was inclined to dislike people, work in service oriented occupations would never do. Her unwillingness to compromise her beliefs meant she needed to find something that would enable her to do her part for anti-slavery and for improving the conditions of free blacks, while maintaining some detachment from the masses of people. Her choice was to become an abolitionist speaker. After three years of rehearsing, Sarah got her opportunity.

Abigail (Abby) Kelley Foster, a white abolitionist speaker, had been urging Sarah to join with other female lecturers. Foster had met Remond at abolitionist lectures and other abolitionist gatherings as early as 1854.[71] In a letter dated December 21, 1858, Sarah told Abigail Foster that she regretted not getting involved in lecturing earlier and credits Foster's encouraging words for her decision to enter that arena. She added that she would never have gone forward had it not been for Foster's influence. She also wrote of her "lack of a good English education" as one reason for her hesitation.[72] Another reason for her hesitancy can be found in the prevailing gender conventions. While her early forms of activism were daring, they did not require her to stay away from home for long periods of time. Moving into the public arena in the formal capacity of lecturer, however, brought with it the certainty of being away from home for prolonged periods. Although it was not unusual for black working women to be away from home, Sarah Remond had remained at home and was still living with her parents at age 32. Shirley Yee points out that in the black community, there was the fear that

black women's participation in public lecturing "might permanently damage the effort to create middle-class gender roles."[73]

Her father may not have encouraged Sarah to step out in the public role of lecturer, for his generation seemed to adhere to early Victorian standards where gender roles were concerned. His colleague and daughter Caroline's father-in-law, George Putnam, did not hesitate to state his opposition to women's rights. Surely there would be no outward sanctioning of a woman speaking in public before mixed-gender audiences. Abolitionist Charles B. Ray believed that women belonged in the home as wives and mothers. Black minister, J. W. C. Pennington felt that women were not suited for the "learned professions" because they were "incapacitated both physically and mentally." Even Frederick Douglass, staunch supporter of women's rights, believed that a woman's education was incomplete without schooling in domestic affairs.[74] James Horton points out that "women often faced sanctions" for disregarding the gender conventions within black society, adding "to do so was viewed as furthering the aims and continuing the effects of slavery, depriving black men of their manhood."[75] Sarah's decision to join her brother was a courageous one given the prevailing gender expectations held by many black men involved in abolitionism.

In some circumstances, black women who conformed to expectations of conservative appearance, and who exhibited an interest in reform were prompted by the men close to them to speak in public. This was the case with Sarah who received all the encouragement and support she needed from her brother, Charles.

After the death of his first wife, Amy Matilda Remond in August, 1856, he encouraged Sarah to join him on the lecture circuit.[76] Charles may have had a dual purpose. His wife often accompanied Charles when he traveled, and was known for her activism in many areas of anti-slavery including gathering signatures on petitions to desegregate Boston Schools and participation in rescuing fugitive slaves.[77] Her death left a void in Charles's life, which Sarah partially filled. In return, Charles probably helped nurture Sarah's talents, and as a believer in women's rights, he was eager to help her fulfill her dream of public participation in the cause.

Sarah Remond departed on her initial lecture tour on November 19, 1856. A mere nine days later, Charlotte Forten was pronouncing her success as a lecturer. She returned to Salem in February, 1857 after traveling throughout New York and Canada. She was delighted with her tour and spent hours talking about her experiences.[78] Nell described her as "zealous and ...aiming to become a *useful auxiliary*."[79] While newspapers carried accounts of Charles' appearances, very little was written about Sarah's speeches in the United States. An account of her participation in the American Anti-Slavery Convention at Rochester in February 1857, indicates that Sarah was elected to the office of Vice President along with four other individuals. She also served on the finance committee alongside Susan B. Anthony. Sarah spoke at this convention. Her speech was described as one that vindicated both Christianity that "practiced the Golden Rule, and "Republicanism" that followed the principles of the Declaration of Independence. She also spoke of

> the inadequacy of our Constitution to afford proteetion to coloured eitizens - free or slave - or even to perfeetly proteet the white eitizen,... and every person [was] ealled upon to utter their protest - their indignant protest - against the eolossal sin of the age - American ehattel slavery.[80]

Later that year, Charles and Sarah traveled as a team to Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. In December, the Anti-Slavery Bugle reported that the two conducted meetings in New Brighton and Pittsburgh. The short description of her New Brighton speech indicate that Sarah's oratorical skills had sharpened and more of the content of her speech was devoted to slavery and its demise. Referred to as "The gentleman's sister," the report called her speech "an eloquent appeal in behalf of her enslaved countrymen."[81] In Pittsburgh, Charles and Sarah spoke in Lafayette Hall to a large audience. The reporter for the Gazette was very impressed, writing, "these two, declared by the highest authority in the land, goods and chattels, having no rights which white men are bound to respect, spoke so well, so feelingly, so to the purpose..." He went on to say they were much better speakers than he expected.[82]

Sarah Remond may have been allowed on the circuit as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but it is clear that her role was subordinate to her male counterparts, just as Nell had said. She had aspirations of being more than a subordinate, she needed to be heard. She realized that she would never be able to reach her full potential in the shadow of her brother. She had proven herself accomplished enough while on tour with Charles to earn an invitation to speak in

Europe. In May, 1858, she announced her plans to visit England in the fall of that year.

Although Sarah lectured in the United States as an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society, this voyage was not made as a representative of that society; rather, it was as a representative of millions of black Americans held in bondage. Garrison wrote in December 1858, "Miss Remond goes forth on her own responsibility, not representing any society, but identified by complexion and destiny, by sisterly sympathy and generous philantropy with the millions in this country who are punished worse than white criminals...for being the descendants of Africans."[83] It thus appears that the American Anti-Slavery Society was not involved in arranging Sarah's lecture tour to England. Instead, she may have been responding to an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. William Robson, who were her hosts in Warrington, England. Mr. Robson had been a guest lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society in America and may have made Sarah's acquaintance at that time.

"On her own responsibility" - these words demonstrate Sarah Remond's deep resolve to obtain the freedoms that she felt were her birthright and therefore the birthright of all people of African descent in America. Sarah had accomplished two of the goals she set for herself as a result of brother Charles' influence. She had broken from her family's business expectations and was headed for the land that her brother described as one not fostering the prejudice based on color found in

America. Sarah was about to experience freedom as she had never known it before.

NOTES

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31. Liberator, Vol. X, No. 40, October 2, 1840.

32. Black Abolitionist Papers, Microfilm Version, Reel 8, "Letter from William C. Nell to Amy Post," August 31, 1853.

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Horton has misidentified Sarah as Charles' wife. I believe that Amy Matilda Remond was indeed involved in the rescue of Henry Box Brown as she would have been residing in Philadelphia in 1838 when the rescue occurred. William C. Nell mentions her in one of his many letters to Amy Post as having collected signatures to help desegregate Boston schools.

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CHAPTER 4

A PROPHET IS NOT WITHOUT HONOR, EXCEPT IN HER OWN COUNTRY: THE EUROPEAN YEARS, 1859 - 1894

On February 2, 1859, Sarah Parker Remond addressed a group of English women at the Lion Hotel in Warrington, England. This was not her first leeture on British soil, but it was the first directed "ehiefly to the ladies." At the eonelusion of her speech, a Mrs. Ashton told Remond that she was proud to "aeknowledge her as a sister" and to express the "sympathy" of the entire group for her work. On behalf of the ladies of Warrington, Mrs. Ashton presented Sarah Remond with a wateh bearing this inseription,

"Presented to S.P. Remond by Englishwomen, her sisters, in Warrington. February 2nd, 1859."

After a surprised and emotional response, Remond aeknowledged that she had been received "as a sister by white women" for the first time in her life.[1] She aeeepted the token as a representative of her race.

The faet that Remond viewed this oeeasion as a milestone in her relationship with white women strongly suggests that her interactions with white women abolitionists in the United States had not been pleasant. Those relationships, along with her position on the fringes of the public debate over slavery, probably contributed to her deeision to go to Great Britain. As diseussed previously, male speakers were still the dominant foree on the anti-slavery leeture eireuit in the late eighteen-fifties. Indieative of women's marginality is the faet that although Sarah Remond began her public speaking eareer in the United States in 1857, it is diffieult to find newspaper aeeounts that give detailed aeeounts of her work. While

the American press, including Garrison's Liberator, paid little attention to her, individuals, such as Nell and Forten, applauded her progress as an anti-slavery speaker. Although persistent racial prejudice, even among white abolitionists, and anti-female sentiment hindered Sarah Remond's ability to make a name for herself in her native land, and diminished her importance as an anti-slavery advocate, private assurances of her capabilities gave her confidence to take her message abroad.

Though one might suppose that her lack of public acclaim in America would follow her to England, this was not the case. Sarah Remond spoke to packed audiences wherever she went and became a speaker of "national stature" in the British Isles.[2] Her impact on the British anti-slavery movement and her role in promoting women's rights are examined here, along with the radical contacts she made and her choice of Italy as her final destination. The attention she received in the British press, as well as personal contacts, brought her to the attention of radical thinkers throughout Europe. Clearly, the British years sharpened her attacks on slavery, heightened her personal aspirations, and strengthened her feminist resolve.

The rise of anti-black sentiment in England in the late 1860s, led Sarah to reconsider where she wanted to live. If she ever entertained thoughts of returning to the States, the intensification of racism that followed the Civil War caused her to abandon all thoughts of reclaiming her homeland. The association she had with Italian radicals turned her attention toward Italy, and it was there that she spent the rest of her life.

* * * * * * *

In December 1858, Garrison wrote, "Miss Remond goes forth on her own responsibility, not representing any society, but identified by complexion and destiny, by sisterly sympathy and generous philantrophy with the millions in this country who are punished worse than white criminals... for being the descendants of Africans."[3] On December 28, Sarah Remond sailed for England with three goals: to "enjoy freedom for a time;" to improve her education; and to serve the anti-slavery cause.[4] Her sojourn was probably financed by a combination of savings from her stint as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society and support from her family. Ignoring nineteenth-century decorum, Remond traveled alone - an unusual occurrence for women of this era. Her family may have supported her travel because white abolitionist, Samuel J. May, whom they knew well, was also on board. Surely she must have been plagued by thoughts of the indignity her brother, Charles, had endured eighteen years before on his voyage to England, when the custom was to limit black passengers to the open decks or steerage sections of the ship. In a letter to a friend, Sarah divulged her apprehensions about the trip, "I do not fear the wind nor the waves, but I know that, no matter how I go, the spirit of prejudice will meet me."[5] As it turned out she did not have to bear the same indignities as Charles, only rough seas that made the trip most uncomfortable. Sarah Remond arrived in Liverpool weak from constant sea-sickness.[6]

Remond's hosts in Warrington were Mr. and Mrs. William Robson. Mr. Robson was an English abolitionist and supporter of Garrison, who first met Sarah on a visit to the United States. He commented in a letter to The Liberator that Sarah's visit was propitious as Englishmen needed to hear, from a member of the downtrodden race, how dismal prospects were for free blacks in America. He wrote, "It is a very difficult thing to get Englishmen to believe the facts of the awful prostration of all moral and religious feeling on the subject of slavery in America."[7]

In order for us to understand the importance of Sarah Remond's presence in the British Isles, we need to examine the status of British Anti-slavery upon her arrival, and the source of the indifference implied in Robson's statement. Some insight can be gained through a brief look at England's own anti-slavery campaign.

Seymour Drescher's work on British anti-slavery sheds light on British attitudes toward American anti-slavery. He follows anti-slavery sentiment from its early stages in the eighteenth century when the greatest concern was concentrated toward England's colonies in the West Indies, to the beginnings of the American campaign. He theorizes that anti-slavery sentiment was so strong because the working class saw slavery as mirroring their own conditions. Middle- and upper-class involvement was based on religious and moral questions, but the abolitionist movement of the early nineteenth century in England was one dominated by workers, colliers and miners, with the core of the movement supported by the artisanry.[8] Artisans and workers in manufacturing districts were particularly active

in recognizing that slavery deprived its laborers of "supplementary gain from any extension of their own labor," and that slavery constituted an affront to the "moral economy" of English artisans and factory operatives in the 1830s.[9]

In 1833, the British antislavery movement achieved one of its goals when the British Parliament voted to abolish slavery in their West Indian colonies. This act provided compensation for the planters and an apprenticeship program for the ex-slaves. When the apprenticeship program was abandoned in 1838, it limited the number of hours plantation laborers could work per day. Since no such law existed for the British workers, it created a backlash among them which "sometimes spilled over into anger against blacks."[10] The larger agitation caused workers to reflect on their own conditions, which heightened interest in social reform at home, and diminished sympathy for blacks still held in bondage.

While antislavery feeling among the working class began to wane, it did not end overall British interest in American anti-slavery. According to Drescher, the British anti-slavery sentiment was rooted in the violation of what he calls the "many taboos" of British society. Those taboos included slavery's impact on the free market, its destruction of community (slave trade eradicated villages), destruction of the nuclear family, and slavery's negation of political institutions that allowed the expression of popular grievances.[11] If these "taboos" sparked British interest in ending slavery in its own colonies in the 1830s, had they disappeared by the 1850s? They had not, but they did not have the same relevance in a problem miles away and outside British governmental control.

The British effort to end slavery in its own colonies was grounded in political action. The numerous rallies and meetings which preceded West Indian emancipation were inevitably followed by petitions to Parliament urging government action. Since the British couldn't effect much change in American slavery (beyond monitoring the slave trade) through political action, much of the early fervor waned by the early 1840s. In addition, the late 1830s produced a split in the American anti-slavery campaign between the followers of Garrison and Arthur and Lewis Tappan. The split occurred over Garrison's insistence on including issues unrelated to slavery, and his determination to control the American Anti-Slavery Society.[12] The result of that controversy was two anti-slavery organizations, Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society, and Tappan's American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Delegations of both groups brought these divisions to the doorstep of British abolitionists at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840.

The Garrisonians won the admiration of British women when, protesting the convention's decision not to seat female representatives, the male members of the delegation sat in the gallery with them. This created turmoil at the convention, which caused the Garrisonians to lose the support of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The result was a division within the British movement that closely followed class lines, with the elite London members of the BFASS supporting the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, while abolitionist sympathizers in regional, industrial centers, such as Manchester, Bristol and Leeds, tended to

support the American Anti-Slavery Society.[13] Because the Garrisonians embraced issues unrelated to slavery as legitimate topics for discussion at anti-slavery gatherings, workers found a vehicle to voice not only their abhorrence for slavery, but also to make comparisons to their own circumstances.

The Garrisonian group made several attempts to bolster support for the American cause. Charles Lenox Remond, who was a delegate at the World Convention, remained in Great Britain for nineteen months lecturing on slavery and discrimination encountered by free blacks in the United States. Garrison returned to England in 1846 accompanied by Frederick Douglass, the fugitive slave who became the chief African-American lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society in the 1840s. The British were impressed with Douglass as "American Negroes were rare in England."[14] While in Britain, Garrison founded the Anti-Slavery League with British abolitionist George Thompson as President. This organization fell apart with his departure.

By the 1850s, a new generation of Britons, more concerned with domestic problems, had come of age. To them, antislavery in America was a struggle between the North and South over which they had no control. Part of the disinterest in the American struggle derived, according to Temperly, from ignorance on the part of the British on the questions involved, and on the nature of American government. However, Americans still enjoyed an audience among the British public because lectures remained one of the most popular forms of entertainment.[15] During the early 1850s, fugitive slaves, such as William and Ellen Craft, and Henry

Box Brown, provided Britons with a glimpse of the horrors of American slavery. But even they failed to rally the British to the American cause. Harriet Beecher Stowe's tour of England in 1853 created a momentary resurgence of anti-slavery feeling in Great Britain. Her Uncle Tom's Cabin was tremendously popular in and had been seen, heard, or read by many. However, even her visit created only momentary interest.

The fact is most British antislavery societies were inactive during the 1850s. Male societies had declined and were outnumbered by female societies. Historian, Clare Midgeley, attributes the prominence of women's organizations to the fact that while men had largely been involved in petitioning government for change, women had concentrated on such non-political work as "fund-raising, boycotting slave-grown produce, and raising moral issues."[16] In the 1850s, such women's issues sustained the British movement. Since there was no issue that lent itself to political action, male participation was stilted. Yet, "the principal problem facing all these British antislavery bodies was their simple inability to do anything that would materially affect the American issue."[17] The entire British movement had become a "marginal affair" by the time Sarah Remond arrived.

If British abolitionism was marginal, and if those who had once drawn large audiences to their lectures now had hardly any following, how could William Robson, or any supporters of anti-slavery, hope for any change in this trend? How could Sarah Remond's presence exert any influence? Apparently Robson felt that her oratorical skills were powerful enough to aid in his effort to revive anti-slavery

sentiment in Liverpool. He was counting on garnering a large enough audience to carry out his plan, and had some reason to believe Remond might help. Both Drescher and Temperly intimate that the black population in Great Britain was relatively small. Drescher indicated that in the 1830s, that small population was predominately male - black females were rare. Robson was probably aware of these demographics.

Evidence also demonstrates that the fugitive slaves who traveled to England in support of American abolitionism were primarily male. Ellen Craft was the most widely known female fugitive as she and her husband, William, had taken up residence in England. In addition, American blacks had been the objects of British charity, from the purchase of Frederick Douglass' freedom, to the assistance given to the Crafts. The British abolitionists of the late 1830s and early 1840s had witnessed Sarah's brother, Charles, but her tour marked the first time in almost twenty years that a free-born American black, and one not in need of British monetary assistance, would address the British people. In addition, Clare Midgeley points out, Remond's lectures were significant because they were "the first public talks by a woman to a mass mixed British audience on the antislavery question."[18] In other words, Sarah Remond was sure to attract a large crowd to her first lecture because she was a novelty. She was the first free black American woman to address a British audience.

Sarah Remond proved herself a worthy messenger at Tuckerman's Institute in Liverpool, January 21, 1859. Three days later she spoke in Warrington to a

capacity crowd and was touted as "one of the best female lecturers" ever heard there. Remond set the tone for subsequent lectures held in Dublin, London, Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Edinburgh and Ulverston, respectively, in the Warrington presentation. She began by establishing herself as

> the representative of a race that was stripped of every right and debarred of the protection of the law, and of the glorious influences of religion and all the strong ties and influences of social life. She came there as the representative of a race, which in the estimation of American law, had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, and for what? - for no other reason than they were of a different complexion from the majority of American citizens.[19]

Remond went on to explain the Dred Scott decision, which stripped free African-Americans of their rights as citizens in 1857. She denounced the decision as a deliberate effort to deny free blacks in the non-slaveholding states of "every privilege of citizenship by American law."[20] She also explained the roles of the American government and churches in perpetuating slavery, and denying free blacks rights guaranteed by the Constitution. She spoke of segregated churches that relegated black Americans to the "negro pews," and also condemned the clergy for not speaking out against the Dred Scott decision and laws that fostered discrimination.

Sarah Remond then described discrimination experienced by free blacks. Using examples of exclusion from hotels in Boston, and the omnibuses in New York and Philadelphia, she called her audience's attention to the hypocrisy of American protestations of liberty and democracy for all. "In that same America...

the executive, legislative, judicial, religious, educational and social influences of the country were all controlled by the advocates of slavery."[21] She emphasized the right of liberty, pursuit of happiness and other rights in the Declaration of Independence as God-given ones that no mere mortal could take away from another without usurping His authority. Once she had established slavery as a sin against the "higher law of God," Remond stressed that "every honest heart" should be aroused at the immorality of the institution, and take a stand against it.

While her lectures were calculated to elicit empathy for slaves in general, they were particularly aimed at evoking empathy among white female listeners for black *women* held in bondage. Thus, Sarah Remond clearly and masterfully articulated the plight of the female slave. The majority of lectures delivered between 1859 and 1861 referred to the degradation suffered by the female slaves at the hands of the auctioneer and the southern master. In an appeal to the English sense of morality, she related the indignity endured in the slave markets.

> In the open market place women are exposed for sale - their persons not always covered. Yes, I tell you English men and women that women are sold into slavery with cheeks like the lily and the rose, as well as those that might compare with the wing of the raven. They are exposed for sale, and subjected to the most shameful indignities. The more Anglo-Saxon blood that mingles with the blood of the slave, the more gold is poured out when the auctioneer has a woman for sale, because they are sold to be concubines for white Americans.[22]

She also related the story of Margaret Garner, the fugitive slave who killed her oldest daughter, in full view of the slave catcher, to spare the child a life of slavery. It is interesting to note that Remond altered her rendition of both the slave

auction and the Garner story to suit her audience. While her listeners in Warrington and Manchester heard detailed accounts of how women's bodies were exposed and the horrible details of how Garner killed her oldest child, her London audience was spared the graphic depiction. Perhaps she felt that such matters might insult or shock London's "better class of people," or perhaps she feared that she would be condemned for reporting such accounts. She may have felt that she did not have to recount the details because her London audience would likely have read, or seen enacted, Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. To London's women she said,

> If English women and English wives knew the unspeakable horrors to which their sex were exposed on southern plantations, they would freight every westward gale with the voice of their moral indignation and demand for the black woman the protection and rights enjoyed by the white.[23]

Appealing to English abhorrence to the deliberate destruction of the family, and to further illustrate the condition of female slaves, Remond drew comparisons between poor English women and slave women. She reminded her audience that even poor English women could claim "that their persons were free and their progeny their own; while the slave woman was the victim of the heartless lust of her master, and the children whom she bore were his property."[24] This example of the reduction of human life to the status of property and blatant disregard for motherhood, probably aroused the support of British women.

Continuing her gendered appeal in Dublin, Remond added a new dimension by distinguishing between the experiences of male and female slaves. Portraying

women as suffering more than men, she also managed to point to exploitation based on race as well as gender.

> Of all who drooped and writhed under the inflictions of this horrible system, the greatest sufferer was defenseless woman (hear). For the male slave, however brutally treated, there was some resource; but for the woman slave there was neither protection nor pity. If the veriest scoundrel, the meanest coward, the most loathsome ruffian, covets the person or plots the ruin of a defenseless female, provided she be known to be ever so remotely of African descent, she is in his power (sensation)...[25]

Here Remond, once again, stated that her appeal was directed toward women on behalf of the female slaves. However, there were male listeners in Dublin as well. Her gendered analysis of the plight of slaves may also have been calculated to appeal to men's sense of "maleness" and their roles as protectors as much as it was to appeal to a bond of sisterhood among the women. She intimated that male slaves had a resource in their physical strength that females did not possess. This may have been meant to shatter the myth of black women as "Jezebels" who were somehow responsible for the licentiousness of southern white men. Describing these men as "veriest scoundrels" and "loathsome ruffians" certainly cast them in the light of the offender. There was also a need to dispel the notion of slave women as super women and the equal of male slaves. Deliberately pointing out the advantages of being male while portraying female slaves as helpless victims certainly aided that effort. Moreover, Sarah Remond's poised presence forced her audiences to view Black women as "ladies." It was said that she spoke "with a womanly dignity which [was] the admiration of all who heard her."[26]

Sarah Remond also stepped outside perceived gender roles and was accepted in doing so without the resistance that had beset her predecessors. A review of her lecture in Dublin, in April, 1859, observed, "They [Irishmen] were accustomed in this country to hear lectures on public subjects delivered by men only; but this was a great moral question. Miss Remond had identified herself with it, and had made it her own."[27] Similar comments were made regarding her London lecture. George Thompson, the English abolitionist and long time Garrisonian, noted that women lecturers were an oddity in England. He remarked that no matter how strange one might find the idea of a woman lecturer on the subject of slavery, he deemed Remond to be the "most fitting representative of the two millions in her own country" to bring this message to the listeners.[28]

Targeting the women in her audiences was not the only tactic Remond used to win their sympathy. She also appealed to the British belief in the free market and that each individual should be compensated for his/her labor. In Manchester, she remarked that seeing load after load of cotton which supplied the British textile market reminded her "that not one cent of that money [paid by the British to purchase the cotton] ever reached the hands of the labourers."[29] She also explained to her audience that the southern cotton economy had created a class of "poor whites" who were the indirect victims of slavery. She blamed southern planters for viewing labor as "dishonorable" thereby causing "five millions" of poor whites to live in ignorance and destitution. Inclusion of poor whites as victims of the

institution of slavery exemplified how Sarah was able to connect her analysis of slavery to the interests of her audiences.

As it turned out, Manchester audiences were not as receptive as those in other parts of the British Isles. Remond stated that she found an atmosphere there that approximated pro-slavery attitudes in America. Her sentiments were confirmed by local clergymen who felt that antislavery was unpopular there, but not because the populace supported slavery. Manchester depended on American cotton to keep its textile industry going. Any stoppage, or even shortage, in supply would bring economic devastation to the region.

Nevertheless, concern over economic conditions did not deter factory operatives from attending her lectures. Sarah's reputation as a powerful and eloquent orator preceded her. By the time she arrived at Bury, Lancashire, another cotton manufacturing district, in November 1859, she spoke to "overflowing" audiences with "hundreds of persons seeking in vain to gain admission."[30] No matter where she spoke, Remond enjoyed success, and in less than one year, had managed to establish a reputation as a distinguished speaker on slavery and racial prejudice in America. Richard D. Webb, leader of Dublin's antislavery movement wrote of her, "[s]he is really very clever - the most so of all the coloured people I ever met, except Douglass & is a very much more sensible & thoroughgoing person than he." He went so far as to say that, in his opinion, there had not been a more effective agent in the British Isles, with the exception of Wendell Phillips. "She is

far less crotchety than Wright or Pillsbury. She has more common sense - & her devotion to the cause & its friends is thorough. We like her very much..."[31]

By September 1859, Sarah Remond had done more to rekindle British anti-slavery than any American speaker in a decade. She had even managed to ease tensions that had pitted the BFASS against Garrison supporters for so many years. The London lecture brought Louis Chamerovzow of BFASS, and George Thompson together on the same stage without their usual bickering. Even though she characterized herself as an ultra-abolitionist and staunch Garrisonian, Remond managed to win the endorsement of Chamerovzow. British historian Clare Midgley correctly credits Remond for fostering cooperation between the two sides. Her presence as the first female public speaker on antislavery also aided the effort to gain equality for English women. She inspired the creation of a "mixed central co-ordinating committee in London in June 1859."[32] The London Emancipation Committee included both men and women, blacks and whites, and gave women decision-making power alongside men for the first time in British Antislavery history.

All of these accomplishments were ignored by George Thompson, the President of the London Emancipation Committee, when he failed to invite Remond to speak at a public meeting celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. This snub, coupled with knowledge of Frederick Douglass' planned lecture tour of the British Isles, created great controversy among abolitionists in England and America. While white Bostonian, Maria Weston

Chapman, cautioned Remond not to speak out against Thompson's actions, British abolitionist Harriet Martineau publicly condemned him in the press. Chapman was sure that Thompson was sincere in his antislavery efforts, but had somehow been influenced by Douglass, whom Chapman felt was a traitor, to not include Sarah. She predicted that Thompson would come to regret his course without any reaction from Remond.[33] While Sarah heeded Chapman's advice and never spoke out publicly against Thompson, she displayed her displeasure by boycotting the meetings of the London Emancipation Committee. Participation in the organization began to wane as female members supported Remond. This lack of female support forced the dissolution of the committee in February 1860 "at a meeting attended by men only."[34]

Frederick Douglass did tour the British Isles while Sarah Remond was there, yet they never spoke at the same events: in fact it seems their paths never crossed. Historian, R. J. M. Blackett places the two on the same bill during Douglass's tour.[35] If so, Douglass clearly didn't remember because in a letter written in 1886, he mentioned that he had seen Sarah Remond for the first time in forty years. It is impossible to believe that Remond and Douglass were unaware of one another's presence in England. Perhaps Remond deliberately avoided contact with Douglass. On November 22, 1859, just two days before his arrival in Liverpool, Remond and her sister Caroline R. Putnam, who was visiting from Salem, went to the American Legation in an attempt to have her passport processed so that she could visit the Continent. When her request was denied by Benjamin Moran, assistant to George

M. Dallas, on the basis of the Dred Scott decision, a controversy arose that was well documented in the press. Remond's insistence that she was indeed a citizen of the United States, caused Dallas to order her out of the house. Moran described her behavior as "impudent."[36] In typical Remond fashion, reminiscent of the incident at the Boston theater in 1853, the two sisters sent a Mr. Fuller to the legation the next day to obtain a passport for Mrs. Caroline Putnam. Fuller explained that Putnam could not appear herself due to illness. Moran managed to connect Fuller to Sarah Remond, and sent him away empty handed.

Never having been one to take no for an answer when she thought her God-given rights were being violated, Sarah Remond wrote a letter to the editor of The British Friend, in which she not only told the story of being denied the visa on her passport, but also told of the indignities her sister had experienced on her voyage aboard a Cunard vessel. Remond accused Dallas of basing his decision not to issue a visa solely on her complexion. "You may read the *facts*, but no words can express the mental suffering we are obliged to bear because we happen to have a dark complexion. No language can give one an idea of the spirit of prejudice which exists in the States."[37] Remond probably had no idea how right she was about Dallas and Moran. Both were staunch Buchanan Democrats and prone to displays of unrestrained prejudice. Dallas even had designs on the Democratic nomination for President. When he threatened to close the American Legation and return to the States if any more attacks from Remond were reported in the news,

Moran called his threat folly, but conceded that resigning in protest of Sarah's attacks would be a good stepping stone to the Presidency.

Moran clearly had no respect for Sarah Remond. He wrote in his diary, "'Miss Sarah P. Remond' has replied to my letter insolently, saying to Mr. D. she did not expect such an answer from one whose salary she contributes to pay. This is vulgar ignorance."[38] His insistence on describing Sarah's behavior as insolent clearly demonstrates that he felt she did not know her "place." His reference to Sarah as "Miss Remond" was facetious, as he truly did not believe she was worthy of the title.

Moran and Dallas had not considered that Remond enjoyed the respect of the British and that the volley of accusations back and forth might even gain the attention of Queen Victoria. Even the Queen's disapproval didn't affect Moran's disdain for African-Americans, evident in this passage from his diary,

> On the subject of darkies, I am reminded that the Queen looked at me very scrutinisingly [sic]on Thursday, & I now suspect the Remond affair was dancing about in her mind, and that she wished to know what kind of person ... the Secretary was that refused that lady of color a vise.[39]

Nor did the Queen's quizzical glances change the course of action undertaken by the American Legation. They unequivocally refused to grant Remond the visa she needed to visit Continental Europe, forcing her to get a passport from the British Foreign Secretary. Though it is certain that the publicity surrounding this incident could hardly have escaped the attention of Frederick Douglass, his correspondence mentions nothing of the Remond sisters.

While we do not know whether or not Remond visited Continental Europe, it appears that she may have been away from the British Isles in February and March of 1860. If not, she was not actively lecturing during this time. Remond made only one public speaking appearance after Douglass's arrival. A small article in the December 24th edition of the Intelligencer reported a lecture in the city Music Hall which was poorly attended.[40] Frederick Douglass had begun his tour in Liverpool on December 7th and could have been the cause of the diminished audience in Leeds. Remond may have declined invitations after the Leeds lecture, or perhaps they were not extended to her. She would have had a convenient excuse for refusal as it had been widely publicized that she was attempting to gain passage to continental Europe with her sister, Caroline Putnam.

Sarah Remond would also have had a good reason for not lecturing while Douglass was around. She was a loyal Garrisonian, something Douglass had ceased to be as early as 1847, when he established a rival newspaper to The Liberator, thus incurring the ire of Mr. Garrison. He severed his connections with Garrison completely in 1850, over a disagreement the United States Constitution. Sarah Remond had created a strong following for herself based on Garrisonian principles of moral persuasion, disunion and condemnation of the American political system. Her speeches relied heavily on appealing to her listeners' moral judgement that slavery was evil and a sin against God. Her many examples of the plight of slave women and men were intended to convince the audience to take action.

Remond also spent time portraying the American Constitution to her audiences as a pro-slavery document. She taught that the basis of slavery in America rested in the Constitution. In her October 1859 speech in Manchester, she stated that "the first compromise of liberty was made then [with the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence], and every successive change and development of the so-called democratic republic has been a fresh compromise with slavery." She spoke of the early concession made regarding the slave trade and condemned George Washington for being a part of "the compromise with injustice." Her speeches attributed the ascendancy to power of slaveholders to the three-fifths clause, which allowed the enumeration of slaves for the purpose of representation. She felt that the best advocates of emancipation "stood outside politics," asserting that there was not one politician who would "advocate immediate abolition" on the floor of Congress.[41] Her portrayal of the Constitution as pro-slavery and her condemnation of those who participated in the political process placed her at odds with Douglass, who believed that the Constitution was never intended to condone slavery. Since the two disagreed about the government's role in slavery, they could not speak on one accord about the matter. It would have been imprudent for two African-Americans who were working for the same goal to disagree before a foreign audience.

Remond was certainly wiser than George Thompson who, in his eagerness to regain stature in the British anti-slavery campaign, dared to participate in an abolitionist meeting with Douglass at Glasgow in March 1860. Thompson spoke

first, espousing everything Garrisonian in respect to the Constitution and politics, and condemning America for recent laws and compromises made by American politicians. Douglass couldn't resist a rejoinder to Thompson's "attack on everything American." He even changed his lecture and delivered what was called a "learned analysis" of the American Constitution as an anti-slavery document. Douglass argued that slavery was indeed a violation of the Constitution, not something it guaranteed.[42] He argued that the three-fifths clause would be changed when slavery ended. If it were not, white southerners would be denying themselves additional representation by not counting every free person. Such arguments and his attack on Thompson astounded his audience. Perhaps it was fortuitous for Douglass that he was called home shortly after this meeting, as antislavery activists in the British Isles had ceased attacking one another on the platform and such antagonistic behavior might not have been long tolerated.

Sarah Remond could easily have been the recipient of that attack, and she knew it. Neither gender nor race would have saved her from Douglass's ire. As a matter of fact, the attack might have been all the more virulent because she was a *black* Garrisonian. Douglass's break with Garrison estranged him from Sarah's brother, Charles Remond and other black Garrisonians. In the aftermath of the break, accusations and attacks between Douglass, Charles Remond, William C. Nell and Robert Purvis were regular occurrences. Douglass often used his newspaper for vicious attacks against all three men, and particularly against Remond. He referred to Remond, Nell and Purvis as "practical enemies of the colored people"

and "his bitterest enemies." They were, in his estimation "hangers on" and "toadies," and none was so loathsome as Charles Remond. Douglass accused him of marrying Amy Matilda Williams for her money.[43]

In the December 9, 1853 edition of Frederick Douglass' Paper, he made a sarcastic reference to Remond's heritage, stating he was proud to say "[he] was not a barber, nor the son of a barber...I do not know that I can trace my ancestry into a barber shop."[44] The two men rarely exchanged pleasantries again between 1853 and 1859 when Sarah Remond arrived in England. She surely saw such attacks on her brother as attacks on herself. After all, an insult to Charles's heritage was an insult to hers as well. Personal animosity may have been the strongest reason for avoiding contact with Douglass during his British tour which ended in late March, 1860.

Remond resumed her public lecturing eight months after Douglass's departure. British newspapers reported two lectures in Edinburgh, Scotland in November 1860 and January 1861, and one each in Ulverston (January 1861) and Chesterfield (April 1861). Though she continued to speak out against slavery, she also devoted two of her later lectures to temperance. Once again, she directed her message to women by extolling their importance in the cause of total abstinence.[45] Remond's first recorded public lecture after the outbreak of the Civil War came in a June, 1861 speech in which she predicted that "without a great shedding of blood" there could be no general emancipation of slaves. She wondered about the destiny of the "four million" after emancipation as "[t]he South could not keep them, and

the North did not want them."[46] Her mission thus took a new turn. With the battle underway, she directed her energies toward persuading those with political influence to keep the British out of the fray as Confederate allies, and toward assisting the slaves once they were freed.

While Remond's main venue for influencing the British public prior to the Civil War had been the public lecture, she now had benefit of private contacts and the influence of her British female allies. The press was no longer a reliable medium. Before the Civil War the British press largely supported the anti-slavery cause. However, Clare Midgley notes that between the outbreak of hostilities in the United States, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, the British press became more pro-Confederate. As the Union (Northern states) conducted a naval blockade of Confederate ports, fears of disruption in the supply of Southern cotton to British textile mills displaced much of the anti-slavery sentiment which had enjoyed some resurgence in the past few years. The British press reported that the war was being fought over the right of Southern states to determine their own destiny, not over slavery. Abraham Lincoln's insistence, early in the conflict, that it was a war to save the Union bolstered the press's pro-Confederate position. As these reports continued, there was a simultaneous rise in virulent racism and a diminution of popular anti-slavery support. Prior to the September 22 Emancipation Proclamation, "Harriet Martineau's firmly, pro-Northern leaders for the Daily News... initially provided almost the only public opposition to the pro-Confederate stance of the bulk of the British Press."[47]

Martineau was just one of the personal acquaintances Remond made in England. When she moved to London in October 1859, she enrolled at Bedford College for women to study "history, mathematics, geography, French, Latin, English literature, elocution and vocal music."[48] While at the London school, she boarded with Elizabeth J. Reid, an English feminist, a Garrisonian, and founder of the college, the first run by women for women. It was also during her tenure in London that she became associated with Clementia Taylor and Mary Estlin, long time correspondents of Maria Weston Chapman. Mary Estlin was an important national activist "whose advice was actively sought by leading male campaigners [for anti-slavery]."[49] Clementia (Mentia) Taylor, the wife of Peter Taylor, a member of Parliament from Leicester, was known as the "mother" of the women's suffrage movement, and their home, Aubrey House, was "a center for radical movements."[50] By December 1861, Remond was boarding with the Taylors at Aubrey House, where she remained until at least October, 1864.[51]

Remaining in England throughout the war, Remond pursued her studies at the Ladies' College. She continued to speak out on emancipation and commented frequently on events taking place in the United States and Great Britain, urging the British to break with the Confederacy. In a speech delivered before the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philantrophy in 1862, Sarah beseeched her audience not to be influenced by pro-slavery advocates' predictions of economic ruin in the British cotton industry:

> Let no diplomacy of statesmen, no intimidation of slaveholders, no scarcity of cotton, no fear of slave

> insurrections, prevent the people of Great Britain from maintaining their position as the friend of the oppressed negro, which they deservedly occupied previous to the disastrous Civil War.[52]

In 1863, she joined Elizabeth Reid, Mentia Taylor, Harriet Martineau, Mary Estlin, and others in establishing the London Ladies' Emancipation Society, serving as a committee member and pamphleteer for the organization. The functions of this women's group included hosting bazaars to raise money and collecting clothing for freedmen. The Society also published a series of pamphlets to inform the general populace of the problems of slavery and the participation of freed slaves in the fight for freedom. Remond wrote Tract no. 7, entitled "The Negroes & Anglo-Africans as Freedmen and Soldiers," which was published in January 1864. This pamphlet is one of a few extant documents (other than a handful of letters) that truly lets us hear Sarah Remond's voice.

Although much of the pamphlet consists of reprinted letters, newspaper articles, and abstracts of reports made by the Freedmen's Bureau to the Secretary of War, Sarah Remond's gift for getting her message across is very evident. Every document selected supported the themes of the lectures she had delivered in the late 1850s. She used the introduction and conclusion to voice her beliefs on the treatment of African-Americans, slave and free. She was particularly harsh towards those who questioned the bravery of black men. Remond was insulted by the implication that free black men and slaves who escaped to Union lines would not fight for emancipation. Her response was strong, succinct, and clearly meant to place the onus of guilt on whites who posed the question.

> Shame on the miserable sneer, that we are spending the money and shedding the blood of white men to fight the battles of the negro. Blush for your own unmanly and ungenerous prejudices, and ask yourself whether future history will not pronounce the black man, morally, not only your equal, but your superior, when it is found recorded that denied the rights of citizenship, long proscribed, persecuted, and enslaved, he was yet willing and ever eager to save the life of your brother on the battlefield, and to preserve you in the peaceable enjoyment of your property at home.[53]

Remond bolstered her statement by quoting letters from missionaries, Army medical inspectors, and newspaper articles. But an abstract of a preliminary report of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission proved to be her strongest document. The report indicated that the slaves who had fled to Union lines (then considered contraband) were devout Christians who desired an education and the opportunity to do for themselves. It also pointed out that the poor whites who had fled to Union lines were much more dependent on government relief than were the slaves. It described the slaves as "more devotional than the whites."[54] Far from relying on handouts, the contraband of Alexandria, Virginia, had established schools at their own expense.

Sarah Remond included sections of the document that described the conditions she had attributed to life in the South. There were depictions of the inhumane conditions endured by slaves on North Carolina plantations, and the practice of using young girls as breeders (the report indicated these young girls had no marriage partners). Once these girls were pregnant, they were treated cruelly. "As little respect was usually paid to the maternal relation as to the marital. On

most plantations, pregnancy neither exempted from corporal punishment, nor (except for three, sometimes four weeks after childbirth) from the ordinary field task."[55] The report mentioned humane masters, but indicated they were exceptional. The illustrations of young girls as breeders, and the hard work they were forced to endure, surely legitimized Remond's incessant articulation of the conditions of the female slave, the constant focus of her early lectures.

Remond emphasized accounts of the eagerness of black men to join the Union troops in the fight against slavery, in any capacity. The Commission concluded that once the freedmen's personal rights were protected by law and "assured in practice, there [was] little reason to doubt that he [would] become a useful member of the great industrial family of nations."[56] It recommended that freedmen be allowed to join the Union Army to assist in winning the war. Remond felt that this government report not only vindicated black men, it erased any doubts whites might have had about their place, not only in the United States but in the world order as well. She wondered why the hew and cry over black men fighting to defend their rights, when no such response was voiced when men in Poland revolted to obtain theirs. To those who spoke negatively of black men she said, "Stand out of the sunlight, which for the first time in many generations now lightens the pathway of the black race, and know the fact that the negro desires liberty, not revenge."[57]

In an 1864 letter to Garrison, Remond hoped for the re-election of Abraham Lincoln in the belief that a George McClellan victory would be received

enthusiastically by the Confederacy and their allies in France and Great Britain. Her awareness of the potential harm Great Britain could inflict on the cause of emancipation if the government formally recognized the Confederacy, prompted her appeal to members of Parliament on behalf of abolition. Though there is little evidence that Sarah had any influence on British diplomacy, she did have access to opponents of alliance with the South. She wrote,

> You probably know that I am residing with a dear friend, Mrs. P. A. Taylor, the honorary Secretary of the "Ladies London Emancipation Society." Mrs. Taylor is the wife of P. A. Taylor, Esq., M. P., the member for Leicester, whose voice, in and out of Parliament, has been heard in behalf of the American slave, and whose testimony is recorded against a Southern Confederacy based upon chattel slavery.[58]

It is safe to assume that Sarah Remond (perhaps around the family tea table) urged P. A. Taylor, Esq. to oppose diplomatic ties between Great Britain and the Confederate states.

While Sarah's lectures in England dealt with American slavery and the complicity of the Northern states in keeping the sons and daughters of Africa in shackles, she addressed another, more pervasive and damaging practice, employed by the British and Americans alike, of castigating the entire black race. Sarah addressed the problem in various ways, always condemning racism, and its attendant discrimination. Scattered throughout her speeches in the British Isles are references to the fact that black Americans were denied the basic rights which were freely given to caucasians - particularly access to education and decent jobs. Sarah Remond reiterated the point that no one really knew what potential resided in the

darker race because they had not been given the tools or the opportunity to achieve. Her own family was a prime example of what could be accomplished if the opportunity for advancement existed. Had they not succeeded in spite of the obstacles thrown in their path?

Remond vehemently attacked racial stereotyping in a letter to the editor of the London Daily News, which was re-printed in the Liberator, December 22, 1865. In it, Sarah lit into those who engaged in "unjust and ungenerous" attacks on the "negro race and their descendants." Her letter was written in response to an article which appeared in the Times, which concluded that negroes were unfit for freedom. The article defended the actions of British governor Edward John Eyre and his handling of an October 1865 riot by blacks at the courthouse in Morant Bay in Jamaica.[59] In response to the riot, Governor Eyre declared martial law and sent in the troops. His actions led to the killing of hundreds of black people, the flogging of hundreds more, including women and children, and the burning of thousands of homes.

In questioning race relations in England and countering attacks on the character of people of African descent, Sarah Remond raised the question of whites attributing the negative behavior of a few, no matter how slight, as typical for *all* black people. She questioned why the same logic did not apply to the caucasian race. Why was it then that whites did not see inherent shortcomings in themselves as a result of the cruelties exacted by slave owning Southern "gentlemen?" She

was particularly perturbed by the fact that these accusations were being made in the British press. Sarah wrote in 1865:

> No matter what a colored man may do - whether it is a crime committed, or some slight impropriety, it is exaggerated, and noticed in the most insulting manner....We are expected to be not only equal to the dominant races, but to excel in all that goes toward forming a noble manhood or womanhood. We are expected to develop in the highest perfection a race which for eight generations in the United States has been laden with the curse of slavery. Even some of our friends seem to expect this, but our enemies demand it.... Compare their character [negroes] in reference to cruelty with their masters, 'the chivalry of the South,' who for eight generations have mutilated their slaves, and not unfrequently during the present generation burnt their victims to death... Our cup of bitterness is more than full. [60]

In addition to dealing with the larger context of racism, Sarah also questioned the practice of using dual standards for judging character, one for whites and one for blacks. This letter clearly condemns attempts in England to portray people of color in demeaning terms, while ignoring the reprehensible behavior of whites. Sarah placed race hatred at the core of these attacks.

The overriding importance of this letter is Sarah's ability to envision the universal pervasiveness of racism - to claim as part of her rhetoric the championing of all people of African descent, not just African-Americans. The letter indicates that Sarah's understanding of racism had changed. Initially she saw it as an American issue; now she recognized the universality of the problem. Her statement showed the beginning of her disillusionment with British society and indicated that she was unwilling to remain in a society that condoned racism.

Clearly, the Eyre incident was still the subject of controversy as late as 1867, when William Robson reflected on the change in British attitudes towards blacks. He wrote:

> The Eyre business has openly shown the fearfully corrupt state of English feeling with regard to the rights of the black race; and we have not, alas! the faithful few to stand in the breach, and reprove the nation for its sin... where would have been the slavery question now if such cowardice & blindness had filled the anti-slavery heart of America, five & thirty years ago?[61]

This lack of regard for the rights of blacks probably sealed Remond's decision to leave England in 1866 to make her home in Italy.

Even so, Sarah Remond did not immediately abandon hope that she could influence change for African-Americans, slave and free. Until her departure, she continued her work with the Ladies' London Emancipation Society as a member of the executive committee. The Society exposed Remond to activities and causes unrelated to the Civil War in the United States. Members of the organization were connected to other European political groups, most notably the Italian nationalists who had been involved in revolutionary war to unite Italy. In May 1863, Clementia Taylor wrote leading Italian nationalist, Guiseppe Mazzini, to explain the new organization. In his response, Mazzini inquired about the intent of the Society beyond influencing English opinion in favor of the North. Clementia Taylor's response must have been satisfactory, for he lent his name to the cause, becoming the only active male member of the London Ladies' emancipation Society; General Garibaldi was listed as an honorary member.[62]

Sarah Remond met Mazzini as early as 1861. He often retreated to London when he was in exile, and frequently visited and corresponded with Clementia Taylor, with whom Remond resided. Aside from her work on behalf of African-Americans in bondage, Remond had become actively involved in the effort to aid the Italian unification effort. In a January 1863 letter, Mazzini gave his "cordial thanks" to Miss Remond for her active cooperation in "our bazaar." Not only was he appreciative of Remond's participation in fund raising, but apparently, Mazzini was also quite impressed with her rhetorical skills. In a letter to Taylor written in October 1863, Mazzini warned that a Polish man, who had contacted her concerning the Polish uprising, needed to be convinced that the Poles had moved in the wrong direction in their quest for freedom. He felt that Poland would surely fall if the leaders did not change their tactics, and he was making every effort to make them understand his position. In that vein, he wrote, "Peter, you, Miss R[emond], somebody ought to state to him the true fact that active European sympathies have abated since their movement has visibly fallen in the hands of Bonaparte and of the Moderate Party... Do make a little propagandism in this sense."[63] Mazzini evidently felt that Sarah Remond understood the revolution well enough, and possessed the ability to persuade Taylor's Polish guest to adopt the strategies he had put forth in his letter.

Sarah's connection with Mazzini and her interest in the revolution were probably part of the impetus for her journey to Italy in 1866. She had known of the Neapolitan communities in the British Isles, particularly in Ireland, and in her

lectures, had connected their plight to that of the slaves. She had also voiced great admiration for England's Florence Nightingale and her work as a nurse during the war in Crimea. Her reverence for Nightingale, combined with the wars in Italy, may have convinced her to study nursing in London. Evidence indicates that she had completed nursing studies by January 1865. Mazzini inferred that she was a trained nurse when he questioned Remond's continued presence in England at the end of the Civil War. He noted: "Miss Remond is in Bristol, had she not better being now in the midst of the emancipated negroes, nursing the wounded or educating the others? The problem now lies with themselves; and the agitation ought to turn to a different channel."[64] Though Mazzini believed that Remond's talents were needed by her own people in the United States, Sarah didn't share that perception.

Several scholars have placed her back in the United States in May 1866 as part of the New York Equal Rights Association's campaign for universal suffrage for Empire State citizens. It is understandable how one could come to this conclusion, as there is a footnote in Susan B. Anthony's History of Woman Suffrage, which lists Sarah Remond as one of the speakers in this campaign. Some accounts have her with her brother, Charles, on the platform. Others place her at meetings alongside Frederick Douglass and Lucy Stone.[65] Nonetheless, apart from the footnote in Anthony's history, there is no evidence that she ever left Europe. In fact circumstances indicate that she probably never returned to America.

If indeed Remond was present in the United States after the war, she would surely have visited Garrison before her return to England. A letter written to Garrison in June 1867, provides further evidence that Remond never left Europe. William Robson wrote that Sarah had called on him to let him know that she had seen Garrison in France and he was looking well "after the multifarious labours [sic] and trials & painful accidents of the past nine years. She says you are scarcely looking any different from when she saw you in America..."[66] We can surmise that she was not speaking of how he looked in May, 1866; rather, she spoke of his appearance in December 1858, when she left America for England. One thing is certain, Sarah Remond was still in Europe in August, 1866. From his exile in Lucerne, Switzerland, Mazzini wrote that he was fearful of being recognized in the streets by Miss Remond who was also in Lucerne that week (August 14th). She was to travel alone from Lucerne to Florence, to find employment in a hospital, a task Mazzini thought would be difficult if there were no war when she arrived.[67] Though Remond may not have found work in Florence at that time, she did relocate there. When she visited Garrison in France on May 31st, 1867, she indicated that she was living in Italy. She did return to England, from time to time, to lecture or participate in Antislavery reunions. One of her 1867 lectures, "The Freeman or the Emancipated Negro of the Southern States of the United States," was published in The Freedman.[68] In that same year, she was present in London at a public breakfast in honor of Garrison.

It is possible that Sarah Remond had begun medical training in England. Mazzini's August 1866 letter did not specify what kind of employment Remond sought in the hospitals of Florence. We can be more certain that she was in training either in London or Florence during the period between 1866 and 1868. Massachusetts' born sculptress, Anne Whitney, who had taken up residence in Rome to pursue her work wrote to her sister, Sarah, about a gathering at her home on Easter Sunday 1868; "Miss Remond, now a physician in Florence, was here that same eve, her handsome dark person set off by a broad gold chain wound round and round her head and a white shawl..."[69] Remond declared her occupation as physician in 1870 according to the ninth census of Italy, taken that year. Dorothy Porter cites 1871 as the year Sarah Remond received her diploma from the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital.

While the date of graduation from the medical school is uncertain, it is clear that by 1868 she was a practicing physician. Once Remond had established her medical practice, she made Italy her permanent home. In mid-year 1871, Lucy Chase visited Sarah Remond at the home she shared with her sister, Caroline Putnam, in Florence. Chase had nothing but praise for Remond, whom she described as having a grandeur of air and manner which was extremely striking, and considered her to be most intelligent and warmhearted.[70] In 1873, Elizabeth Buffum Chace, the anti-slavery advocate and friend who had used her influence to arrange some of Remond's early lectures in England, visited her in Florence. She also spoke of Sarah's intelligence, gentleness and social aplomb. Chace wrote:

> Sarah Remond is a remarkable woman and by indomitable energy and perseverance is winning a fine position in Florence as a physician, and also socially; although she says Americans have used their influence to prevent her by bringing their hateful prejudices over here. If one tenth of the American women who travel in Europe were as noble and elegant as she is we shouldn't have to blush for our country women as often as we do.[71]

Remond's early years in Florence were probably spent with other American exiles, many from Massachusetts. When she visited Rome in 1868, she was accompanied by James Jackson Jarves who was known as an art critic and dealer. Jarves first settled in Florence in 1850 and remained there for a generation collecting Italian art and attempting, unsuccessfully, to sell his collection to buyers in New York and Boston. Since Jarves was closely connected to the artists' colonies in Florence and Rome, Remond probably made connections through her friendship with him to the German artists who also lived in the colonies. She probably frequented the Palazzo Barberini, William Wetmore Story's home in Rome. Story was the sculptor son of Judge Story and a native of Salem. Surely the daughter of the caterer who had prepared a feast in honor of his father would have been a welcomed guest.[72]

Although Sarah Remond spent some twenty years in Italy, far more than she spent in England, the Italian years are not the major thrust of this story. The period between 1873 and 1877, have not yielded information on Remond's activities. However, on April 25, 1877, at age 52, Sarah Remond married Lazarro Pintor of Sardinia.[73] Little is known about his background or how they met, but it is likely that their marriage necessitated a move to Rome. Two years after the marriage,

English abolitionist, William Robson wrote, "Miss Remond is living in great poverty in Rome, her profession of medicine having been a failure..."[74] It is curious that Robson never mentions a marriage. The marriage may have been the reason that Remond's medical practice was "a failure." Italian society did not condone work for married women and Remond may have been forced to give up medicine to conform with Italian social practices. She may also have been courted by someone who was interested in her for the comfortable life she had established. Whatever the cause, it seems that Pintor was unable to support her.

Whatever caused her lapse into poverty was remedied by 1885, when her sisters Caroline Putnam and Martiche Juan Remond moved to Rome. It is safe to assume that Lazarro Pintor was no longer a part of her life then. Frederick Douglass did not mention a husband when he visited Rome in 1886. He and his second wife, Helen, stayed at the Palazzo Maroni, the home of Caroline Putnam, her son Edmund Quincy and his wife. There Douglass visited with Sarah and her sisters. The Remonds' homes in Europe were centers for artists, writers and musicians Sarah had met during her European travels. Lucy Chace also spoke of the writers and German opera stars who visited the Remonds' Florence home. Douglass noted that the Palazzo in Rome was a center for an interracial group "which included the sculptor, Edmonia Lewis, daughter of a Chippewa mother and African-American father, and a Miss Gates, whom he described as "an artist and philanthropist."[75] Frederick Douglass was probably the last of the American

abolitionists to see Remond alive. She died eight years after his visit on December 13, 1894 and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome.

The atmosphere of freedom in Europe was exhilarating, affording opportunities not open to Sarah in America. For eight years she had remained on the front lines lecturing on behalf of the slaves and then, after the Civil War, for the freedmen and people of African descent in other parts of the world. Living in England also offered her a new personal opportunity - the freedom to receive a college education. Moving to Italy afforded the chance to enter a profession that only a few women had managed to master - medicine. While Sarah didn't anticipate remaining in Europe, she found appreciation for her abilities and an atmosphere where she could foster her personal goals. The satisfaction of status received as a lecturer had to be exhilarating. The same notoriety may not have been received in the United States. Her acceptance as a human being made her return to American society virtually impossible. Now it was time to enjoy those childhood dreams of freedom which had become reality.

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CHAPTER 5

OTHER VOICES: SARAH REMOND'S CONTEMPORARIES AND MODELS

This study has thus far examined the participation of Sarah Parker Remond and her family in the abolitionist movement. Certainly the Remond's were not the only African-American family who involved themselves in the fight to emancipate the slaves and create better conditions for free people of color. There were other families who immersed themselves in the battle. Nor was Sarah Parker Remond the only African-American woman involved in lecturing on the subject of abolition. There were others who dared take on this role associated with male public activity.

These women were truly brave, for they set aside nineteenth-century Victorian decorum, which assigned the role of wife and mother as the mark of "true" womanhood. The "cult" of true womanhood, coupled with racism, created a formidable challenge for Remond and other African-American women in their efforts to participate in organized abolitionism. Remond's activism posed a double threat to societal visions of inequality; she and her colleagues breached both gender and racial lines. These women contended with mixed responses from black men, some of whom had adopted the beliefs of the dominant culture concerning women's accepted spheres. In addition, Remond, and others who stepped into the public spotlight, presented themselves before audiences who believed African-Americans and women were, by nature, intellectually inferior. They also walked a veritable tightrope to avoid validating the stereotypical image of the unladylike, domineering black woman. We have seen that these obstacles did not stop Sarah Remond from

stepping into the arena and taking up the fight for emancipation of her sisters and brothers in bondage. But she was not alone. Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Maria W. Stewart, the Margaretta, Sarah, and Harriet Forten, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, and Francis Ellen Watkins Harper also labored in the cause.

An examination of the roles of some of these women is warranted. Was Sarah Remond's participation significantly differed from other African-American women who immersed themselves in the effort? It is appropriate to compare Remond's experience with that of her closest contemporaries, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Francis Ellen Watkins Harper.

* * * * *

The decade of the 1830s is a logical starting point for examining African-American women's visibility in the abolitionist movement. The debut of Garrison's Liberator sparked interest in the crusade for many who had not been involved in the public arena, especially women. Although Boston was the home of Garrison's publication, Philadelphia also had a long association with the abolitionist cause. Its large Quaker population had been actively involved in aiding and educating fugitive slaves and free blacks since the eighteenth century. It was in Philadelphia that three generations of Forten women participated in this struggle. Their source of inspiration and encouragement was James Forten (1766-1842), a strong patriarch and faithful supporter of African-American freedom, who encouraged his eight

children to participate in reform and anti-slavery organizations. He spoke and wrote about varied issues, from abolition of the slave trade, to African-American suffrage, to women's rights.[1]

The Forten home was open to American and British abolitionist leaders, American dignitaries and fugitive slaves. James's wife, Charlotte (1784-1884), along with her daughters, Margaretta, Sarah and Harriet, was a founder of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Her eldest daughter Margaretta (1808-1875), was an officer in the organization from its inception in 1833, until its termination after the Civil War. Margaretta also supported the women's rights movement.

Harriet (1810-1875), married Robert Purvis, the son of a slave who had received his freedom and an inheritance from his father who was a white planter. Purvis was active in abolitionism and Underground Railroad activities. Harriet and Robert's home in Byberry, Pennsylvania, soon replicated the center of hospitality that Harriet had experienced as a child. Many abolitionist leaders, including Garrison, were their guests. Harriet raised eight children and was surrogate mother to her niece, Charlotte Forten, after the child's mother died. Harriet served as a delegate to the 1838 and 1839 Antislavery Conventions of American Women, and like her sister, Margaretta, worked in the abolitionist movement and women's rights until her death. It was Harriet's son, Robert, Jr., who joined Sarah Remond in October 1853 in an attempt to integrate the Franklin Exhibition.

The third Forten sister, Louisa (1814-?) was perhaps the most well-known, or at best the most literate. An avid writer, she contributed poems to the Liberator and the Abolitionist between 1831 and 1837, sometimes using the names "Magawisca" and "Ada."[2] Like many other women, she contributed to the antislavery movement by organizing and participating in fund raising bazaars. Her letters reveal that she was aware of prejudice, not only in the local community, but also within the abolitionist movement. In a letter to Angelina Grimke she noted, "No doubt but there has always existed the same amount of prejudice in the minds of Americans towards the descendants of Africa. Even our professed friends have not rid themselves of it."[3] She went on to say that she and her family had been fortunate not to have encountered the prejudice experienced by other African-Americans. She attributed this to the family's self-reliance and the fact that they seldom ventured far from home. She recommended that other African-Americans follow her example if they wished to elude racism.[4]

The Forten women were parochial figures in the abolitionist movement, who confined their activities to their immediate communities. While they recognized racial prejudice, they never invested much effort in challenging it. Perhaps they felt that direct confrontations were the affairs of men. Not until the next generation would a Forten female name be associated with anti-slavery activity outside the confines of Philadelphia. Charlotte Forten (Grimke), James' and Charlotte's granddaughter, carried the Forten name into Massachusetts and the nation's capitol. Her anti-slavery activism was heavily influenced by Sarah Remond and her family.

Charlotte resided with Charles Lenox Remond and his family while attending Salem Normal School. She would go on to become the first African-American woman hired to teach white children at the Epes School in Salem, Massachusetts.[5] After the Civil War, she used her teaching talents to serve in the Sea Island project organized by the Freedmen's Bureau.

Unlike the Fortens, other African-American women ventured away from home to establish, not just freedom for slaves, but racial equality as well. While the Forten women claimed racial parity for themselves and other African-American women, there were others who pressured white Americans to change segregated institutions so that the proclamation could become reality. One of these women, Maria W. Stewart (1803-1879) epitomized a lifestlye and philosophy which was quite different from the Fortens. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, and orphaned at age five, she spent her young life as a domestic worker for a white clergyman's family, who taught her to read the Bible; by the end of her bond, at age fifteen, she was literate.[6] Although her bondage ended, her experience of subordination made her more sympathetic to the plight of the slave and the dire conditions in which free blacks lived.

Heavily influenced by David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, Stewart adopted a very militant stance on issues involving her people. Most of her speeches were addressed to African-American audiences. She believed in "the value of education; the historical inevitability of black liberation, through violent means if necessary; the need for black unity and collective action; and, the

special responsibilities of women."[7] Her writing reflected her ideology and, like Walker, she used biblical references to validate her beliefs. In 1831 she asked Garrison to read her manuscripts. Garrison was so impressed with Stewart's writings that he printed them in pamphlet form and advertised them in the Liberator.

With Garrison's encouragement, Stewart began to speak in public, first to the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society, and then to mixed-gender audiences. "Her speech in Boston's Franklin Hall on September 21, 1832, was the first public lecture by an American woman, anticipating the Grimkes by five years."[8] Her speeches were emotionally charged pleas to the black community to uplift themselves and fight for equal status with whites. She admonished black women to distinguish themselves by seeking educational opportunities, especially for their children.

Education and self-help were recurrent themes in Stewart's speeches. She encouraged united community efforts to raise funds for schools and start community owned businesses. She wrote, "[u]ntil we begin to promote and patronize each other. Shall we be a by-word among the nations any longer? Unite and build a store of your own,..."[9] Clearly an economic nationalist, Stewart told the community that the money to build stores and schools was already in their possession if they would just stop squandering it on what she termed "folly." Economic self-sufficiency and literacy were paramount in her thought.

To African-American women Stewart wrote, "Possess the spirit of independence...Possess the spirit of men, bold and enterprising, fearless and undaunted. Sue for your rights and privileges."[10] She was not afraid to risk physical confrontation if necessary. The Forten women would never have admonished other women to take such bold actions. Class considerations probably explain the differences in ideology, as the Fortens were a privileged family, while Stewart was poor and forced to work at an early age. The middle class Forten women were much more cognizant of the strictures of Victorian womanhood. While society condoned women's involvement in female antislavery societies and other benevolent organizations as auxiliaries to male organizations, it readily condemned those who stepped into roles traditionally reserved for men. A male spirit was unacceptable.

Stewart was very much aware of society's view of women's "place." She encouraged women to be good mothers and wives, urging them to set a good example for their children and to see that they received an education. At the same time she recognized that the majority of African-American women had to work outside the home in order to make ends meet. In her attempts to explain self-help and self-reliance, Stewart often criticized African-American men for gambling and frequenting dance halls. She was critical, but also sympathetic, acknowledging the dearth of opportunities available to men of color. However, it was her criticism that the men heard and didn't appreciate. "In 1831 in Boston, an audience of black men jeered and threw rotten tomatoes at Maria Stewart when she delivered an

address to black men that criticized them for failing to follow basic Christian principles of thrift, sobriety, and hard work."[11]

By 1833, Stewart was even harsher. She reproved black men for lack of ambition and leadership, and challenged them to improve the conditions of the black community and fight for equality. She boldly stated that she would not have felt compelled to speak out if the men of the community had turned their attention to the mental and moral improvement of their people. Ministers in Boston were delivering the same message from the pulpit, but they were men. Such exhortation from a woman was unacceptable.[12] Hostility toward Stewart became so great that she had to leave Boston in 1833, ending her public speaking career.

Before she departed, Stewart addressed the right of African-American to the same advantages white Americans enjoyed. She drew on republicanism and the ideals of the American Revolution as a source of inspiration and as an argument for the inherent rights of African-Americans. She told white Bostonians that "our [African-American] souls are fired with the same love of liberty and independence with which your souls are fired."[13] She also used the Revolutionary War and its legacy of freedom to denounce the colonization movement. Stewart wrote, "and now that we have enriched their soil and filled their coffers...they would drive us to a strange land. But before I go, the bayonet shall pierce me through."[14] For Stewart, America was home. Her ancestors were born here, fought for freedom and helped build this country, and she would rather fight to the death than be forcibly removed.

Sarah Remond also believed in the right of African-Americans to the same freedoms enjoyed by whites. She was confident that America was home for African-Americans. In a lecture delivered in Manchester, England, November 1859, Remond told her audience, "The coloured [sic] people...have no more intention of going to Africa than I have....they will not leave their country and their homes for any society."[15] While her language was not as emotional as Stewart's, Remond was intent on conveying the same message.

Maria Stewart's influence was evident in Sarah Remond's 1853 attempt to integrate the Boston theater and the law suit she filed. Stewart surely would have condoned these actions. She may have even had personal contact with the Remond family as both were affiliated with the African Baptist Church between 1818 and 1826.[16] Nevertheless, Stewart was clearly in a class by herself, as none of the other women studied were bold enough to challenge African-American men in the same manner. None chastised the urban African-American community or provided remedies for their economic problems. Her speeches, while reflecting Walker's influence, also foreshadowed the rhetoric of Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X during African-American's struggles to obtain civil rights in the twentieth century.

The women mentioned thus far were Sarah Remond's predecessors. Two others, Mary Ann Shadd and Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, were her coevals. They are most important to this analysis. Not only were they public figures at the same time, but they were born within a year of Remond. Of the two, Mary Ann Shadd's early experiences most closely paralleled Sarah Remond's. Born on

October 9, 1823, Mary Ann Shadd was the oldest child of Abraham and Harriet Shadd, (they had thirteen all together) who were free African-Americans living in Wilmington, Delaware.[17] Abraham Shadd had inherited his father's shoemaking business and part of an estate valued at three-hundred dollars in 1819. He also owned property in Wilmington. Like John Remond, Abraham Shadd was an active abolitionist, conductor on the Underground Railroad, and early supporter of Garrison's Liberator. He was a firm believer in the ideology of self-help and the need for African-American mutualism.[18]

Education was paramount for the Shadd family. Thus, in 1833, they moved to West Chester, Pennsylvania, because there were no educational opportunities in Delaware. For six years, Mary Ann Shadd attended Price's Boarding School, run by the Society of Friends, and at age sixteen, returned to Delaware to organize a school for black children. For the next eleven years, she taught in black schools in Wilmington, New York City, West Chester and Norristown, Pennsylvania.[19]

There is a striking similarity between Shadd's educational experience and Sarah Remond's. The Remonds also moved when Sarah was eleven to secure educational opportunities in Newport, Rhode Island. Both families had the economic means to relocate without creating financial hardship, and both women had six years of schooling. Though the circumstances surrounding their schooling were similar, the paths they took after graduation were very different. Shadd went into teaching. Remond, on the other hand, felt that her schooling was insufficient, leaving her without "a good English education."[20] When she returned to Salem, she

worked in the family businesses, and spent leisure hours reading to improve her knowledge.[21] While there is no record of the curriculum at the Newport school during Remond's tenure, its students were known for their intellectual and artistic abilities.[22] We can assume therefore that Remond could have become a teacher. Unlike Mary Ann Shadd, Sarah did not make this choice.

Sarah Remond's other contemporary, Francis Ellen Watkins Harper, was born of free parents in Baltimore, Maryland in 1825. Orphaned by age three, she was raised by her uncle, Reverend William Watkins and educated in his Academy for Negro Youth. At age fourteen, she took a job as a servant for a Baltimore family which allowed her to pursue a course of self-education.[23] Like Remond and Shadd Cary, Harper also attended a segregated school. While they completed their formal education at age sixteen, Harper left two years earlier and her subsequent experience more closely followed Remond's. Conditions at home called for their services; Remond's within the family businesses, Harper's as a hired servant. Both pursued self-education before venturing into the public arena. When, in 1850, Harper decided to utilize her education she, like Mary Ann Shadd Cary, became a teacher. Relocating to Ohio, Harper became the first female faculty member of the Union Seminary (Wilberforce University).

Mary Ann Shadd and Francis Ellen Watkins Harper were not only teachers, they also published their ideas. In 1849, from her Southern vantage point, Mary Ann Shadd wrote a pamphlet entitled "Hints to the Colored People of the North." In it, Shadd expounded on the elevation of the race. She warned Northern blacks

of the "folly of black imitation of white conspicuous materialism and asserted that blacks would not profit or improve their condition by such a display of themselves."[24] She probably would have been critical of the Remonds on this account. Their lifestyle did approximate that of middle-class whites, and Charles Remond was often ridiculed for appropriating "white" mannerisms. Shadd also urged her black brothers and sisters to actively initiate anti-slavery reform instead of depending on white support. She firmly believed in black independence and self-respect. While Shadd Cary lectured to Northern blacks on the importance of autonomy, Watkins Harper wrote poetry based on religious topics and slavery. By 1854, she had published a collection entitled Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects. Remond's only extant attempt at writing appeared in the 1860s as an edited version of the Reports of the Freedmen's Bureau on black soldiers in the Civil War. If she produced any other serious writings, they have not survived.

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was an important event which affected all three women. Francis Ellen Watkins (Harper) left Baltimore for Ohio, to remove herself from the danger of being mistaken for a fugitive slave. It was during her years in Ohio that she made the decision to devote her time to the abolitionist movement. Although Sarah Remond took no immediate action, her European lectures suggest that the Fugitive Slave Act encouraged her to become a more visible part of abolitionism. Shadd Cary responded immediately by emigrating to Canada with her brother, Isaac. She assumed that black people would be better received in a country under British control, only to discover that Canada West was

not "heaven" but merely a haven for black refugees. Canadian whites were not much different from Northern white Americans. They did not allow black children in white schools and often discriminated against blacks in public transportation. American blacks, fugitive and free, found themselves confined to segregated neighborhoods with few government services.[25]

As she had done in 1839, Shadd Cary once again established a school, this time in Windsor, Canada. Unlike some blacks who sought refuge in Canada, she was an integrationist, not a black nationalist, and promptly announced that her school would not be segregated. Shadd Cary made it clear that she did not believe in what she referred to as "caste" schools. Such opposition stemmed from her conception of race which she refused to construe as a biological difference which caused inferior intelligence. She believed that race was merely a matter of complexion, and that black children could compete on even footing with whites if given equal opportunity. It comes as no surprise that she denounced the proliferation of segregated institutions.[26]

For her part, Remond believed race to be an "accident of birth." She also denounced separate institutions, but went a step beyond Shadd Cary, actually denigrating her segregated education. She described her Salem training as humiliating, and felt her Newport experience was incoherent and disorganized. In her dictated autobiography she spoke of her "limited" schooling and abhorrence of segregated institutions as follows:

> Thus ended my school days, and the limited teaching I had; and its desultory character was not its only

> disadvantage. Separate churches and schools for colored persons are an immense disadvantage to the descendants of the African race, and a great drawback to their elevation.[27]

Both Remond and Shadd Cary also criticized other segregated institutions. Remond denounced black churches, and the undereducated ministers who led them. In addition, Shadd Cary condemned black "folk religion" which she claimed hindered the progress of the race. While both Remond and Shadd held segregated institutions in contempt, Shadd also blamed blacks themselves for allowing them to exist. She believed that acceptance of such facilities was acquiescence to second-class citizenship.

Remond's and Shadd Cary's views on separate institutions were not shared by Watkins Harper. Watkins Harper's education has been described as better than most antebellum youth, black or white. She never disputed this description, and never spoke negatively about her education. Complaints about self-imposed segregated institutions weren't part of her antebellum rhetoric.

By 1853, these three women made decisions that would affect the rest of their lives and thrust them into the public spotlight. In an attempt to counter attacks from those who disagreed with her, Mary Ann Shadd Cary established a newspaper in Toronto, Canada. The Provincial Freeman was the first newspaper in North America with an African-American woman as editor. Adhering to Victorian principles, she sought Samuel Ringgold Ward, minister and antislavery activist, to be the titular editor during the first years of publication. It was this newspaper that propelled Shadd Cary onto the lecture circuit. In late 1853, she began lecturing in

the United States and Canada to obtain subscriptions for her newspaper. Within a year, she had gathered enough support to resume publication of her paper. Fittingly, the motto was "Self-Reliance Is The Fine Road to Independence."[28]

Francis Ellen Watkins Harper also redoubled her efforts to abolish slavery, moving in 1853 from Ohio to Philadelphia to seek a wider audience for her writings. While there, she resided with the William Still family, became involved with the Underground Railroad, and published poems and essays in Frederick Douglass's Paper, the Liberator, and the Christian Recorder. The move to Philadelphia proved fruitful and in August 1854, Harper was in New Bedford, Massachusetts, lecturing on education and uplift in the black community. By the end of the year, she was an agent for the Maine Anti-slavery Society, lecturing throughout that state, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.[29]

Eighteen-fifty-three was also the year Sarah Remond decided to actively oppose racist policies. She attempted to integrate the Howard Antheneum in Boston,[30] and later that year, led a drive to integrate the Franklin Exhibition in Philadelphia. Though Sarah Remond had made her mark in public, it would be three more years before she would join Watkins (Harper) and Shadd Cary as public speakers. During those years, she prepared herself by attending lectures, reading and participating in local protests against the Fugitive Slave Act. By 1856, she joined her brother, Charles, on the lecture circuit as an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Little is known of Remond's speeches delivered between 1856 and her departure for England in late 1858. This may be indicative the

antislavery press's tendency to report on the substance of men's speeches, while simply acknowledging women's presence at the lectern. It may also indicate that Sarah Remond didn't have many occasions to speak - a situation that may have been self-imposed.

Frances Ellen Watkins (Harper) was undoubtedly one of Sarah Remond's role models as a speaker. She had entered the public speaking arena three years earlier than Sarah. She was a gifted speaker and was often invited to the meetings attended by Sarah and her brother, Charles. Watkins (Harper) was so well received that Mary Ann Shadd refused to appear on the same lectern with her. Respectful of Watkins Harper's abilities, Shadd Cary wrote in September 1858, "She is the greatest female speaker ever was here [Detroit], so wisdom obliges me to keep out of the way as with her prepared lectures there would just be no chance of a favorable comparison."[31]

Sarah Remond may have been equally intimidated by Watkins' (Harper) popularity and ability. On May 11, 1858, Wendell Phillips, Charles Remond and Frances Ellen Watkins (Harper) appeared at an antislavery meeting in New York. Garrison wrote, "[Charles] Remond made the opening speech, and was well received. He was followed by Phillips, who made, as usual, a telling speech. Miss Watkins made the closing speech, and it produced an excellent impression."[32] Garrison noted that Sarah Remond was present at the meeting. At the time she had been on the lecture circuit nearly two years and conceivably could have been included in the program. In October, 1858, Watkins (Harper) spoke at an

antislavery meeting in Syracuse, New York. In a letter to the Liberator, Garrison remarked,

> Miss Watkins, as usual, made a very marked impression upon those who listened to her pathetic and eloquent words; and though identified by complexion with a proscribed race, and young in years, produced the general conviction that scarcely a white young lady in the land, however favored with scholastic advantages, could be found to match her in the gift of speech and the power of literary composition.[33]

It must have been difficult to compete with such a gifted speaker, especially when her exceptional qualities were lauded in no less a place than the Liberator. Garrison himself confirmed that Sarah Remond had not achieved the level of competency displayed by Watkins (Harper) in a letter to a fellow abolitionist describing Remond as "comparatively new in the lecturing field, but only needs practice to become a pleasing and impressive public speaker."[34] We have seen that she did become the successful speaker Garrison predicted she would be.

Remond and Watkins (Harper) had the similar goal of convincing their audiences of the evils of slavery through the use of biblical and historical analogy. They spoke of the destruction of family caused by the breeding and sale of slave children, and used sentimentality to evoke sympathy for the downtrodden. Shadd Cary's appeals prior to the Civil War were more concerned with the condition of fugitive slaves in Canada, reflecting her belief in Canadian emigration and her annoyance with those who accepted the status quo. For the most part, though, Shadd Cary stood on the fringe of the antislavery movement, even though she managed to break down the barriers erected by the male-dominated Colored Convention

Movement. She was the first black woman admitted as a corresponding member, giving her the privilege to speak before that assembly. Not until after her newspaper folded in 1859 would she become more active in organized abolitionism.

Mary Ann Shadd Cary's oratory proved much less effective than either Remond's or Watkins' (Harper). The latter women always exhibited a demeanor befitting nineteenth-century visions of "true womanhood." Even though they had chosen a course usually associated with maleness, descriptions of their delivery and appearance suggest proper feminine behavior. Both, for instance, were described as eloquent and ladylike. An article in Portland, Maine's Advertiser described Watkins (Harper); "One cannot but feel, while listening to the recital of the wrongs inflicted upon her race, and to her fervent and eloquent appeals in their behalf that hers is a heavenly appointed mission."[35] The writer went on to emphasize her graceful personal appearance and manners which held her audiences spellbound.

Shadd Cary, on the other hand, abhorred such conventions, often attacking women who deferred to men in any way. Her acerbic attacks on opponents led Frederick Douglass to describe her speaking style as "harsh and complaining."[36] Others thought she was "unfeminine."[37] Her vituperative style rendered her less effective as a leader. She could cajole, but not always persuade others to follow her lead. Yet, no one questioned her earnestness. One correspondent said of a speech she delivered to the Colored National Convention, 1855,

> Her ideas seem to flow so fast that she, at times hesitates for words; yet she overcomes any apparent imperfections in her speaking by the earnestness of her manner and the quality of her thoughts. She is a superior woman; and it

> is useless to deny it; however much we may differ with her on the subject of emigration.[38]

The Civil War years presented different opportunities for the three women. At age thirty-five, Francis Ellen Watkins married Fenton Harper in 1860, taking on the burden of mothering his three children. That same year Mary Ann Shadd Cary's husband of four years died, leaving her to provide for three stepchildren and two born of their union. Watkins Harper left the lecture circuit to devote her energies to her marriage. When Shadd Cary's newspaper folded, she returned to teaching to support her family. Sarah Remond, unencumbered by familial obligations, was still lecturing in the British Isles in 1860. The onset of the Civil War increased her pleas for the emancipation of the slaves and prompted actions to solicit aid for those who would obtain their freedom as a result of the war.

Harper returned to the lecture circuit when her husband died in 1863. She went South in the late 1860s to speak to the freed people about opportunities to obtain land or get an education[39] living among the freedmen, in their quarters. Shadd Cary also became more active in the abolitionist movement in 1863, returning to the United States in part to recruit for the "colored" regiments. She taught in Detroit until 1869, then relocated to Washington, D. C. to establish a school for the freedmen. Of the three, only Sarah Remond remained physically detached from the South. She had, by the end of the War, finished a course at the Bedford College for Women in London and had probably completed nurse's training as well. Her European friends questioned her continued presence on that continent. Mazzini wrote in 1865 that her talents would have been better utilized among the

emancipated slaves; Clementia Taylor complained that what was supposed to have been a six month stay in her home, had lasted three years.[40]

Geography and experience influenced the choices of these women. Having spent their formative years in slave territory, Shadd Cary and Watkins Harper could envision the problems attendant upon emancipation. They had a better sense of what needed to be done to assist the freedmen. Remond had carved out a life for herself in Europe. Her return to the states was highly unlikely. Even if she had not become so rooted there, she probably would not have participated in quite the same ways as Shadd Cary and Harper. Although direct action was her method of entering into the public arena, she later avoided that approach.

Certainly Remond read the newspaper reports and undoubtedly received letters from friends and family regarding the freed people. But, she lacked the predisposition to translate what she read into participation in the uplift of her people. After all, her family always enjoyed close connections to those who were in positions of power. When her father, John, decided to campaign against segregated public schools, he sought the involvement of Salem's abolitionist Mayor. When he intervened against the American Colonization Society, he did so by inviting leading abolitionists, to counter their rhetoric. These tactics were very effective for her father in Salem. But Sarah was no longer in Salem, and without ties to national elites, these strategies were no longer effective. She had no model that demanded her presence in the midst of the community in order to effect change. There had always been a way to achieve that goal from afar. Although

her talents were critically needed among the freedmen, her experiences didn't dictate personal involvement. She had done her part by persuading the British to send monetary and material support to the freedmen.

While Shadd Cary and Harper spent the rest of their lives working toward uplift of African-Americans in the United States, Sarah Remond embarked on a career caring for people in a foreign land. In a letter published in the National Anti-Slavery Standard, November 1866, Remond gave some insight into her decision to remain in self-imposed exile in Italy. In response to reports of violence against blacks and white Northerners in the South, she questioned the success of the Civil War, asking whether any man had rights "which tyrants were bound to respect." She seemed to have relinquished any hope that people of African descent would ever achieve equality in America. Furthermore, she felt they would never be allowed to tell their story. She wrote, "what a record could the victims of this terrible hatred present against the dominant race. It will never be written. It can never be written."[41] Any dream she may have had for equal treatment died in the aftermath of the Civil War. She had experienced acceptance based on her character while in Europe, and was unwilling to give up that respect to return to a nation bound up in violence and prejudice.

Similarly, Sarah may have abandoned England for Italy because attitudes of British women shifted in 1866. They became less concerned with the discrimination suffered by emancipated black women and more aware of the

subordinate position of white women in the home and society. Thus much of the concern and aid for black women dwindled after 1866.[42]

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, not only worked on behalf of their race, they also participated in the campaign for women's rights. Sarah Remond was also associated with women's rights, speaking at the National Women's Rights Convention in May, 1858, in New York. While she made no attempt to advocate women's rights from the anti-slavery lectern, she aided the cause in Britain indirectly as the first woman to speak to "mass mixed audiences on the anti-slavery issue."[43] It was via the anti-slavery issue that women were given decision-making power in a mixed-gender organization - the London Emancipation Committee, formed in June, 1859. Remond was part of that committee and many of the British women involved were leading feminists. While she was pivotal in opening doors for British women and while her closest associates were British feminists, there is little evidence that she ever actively participated in women's rights campaigns there. Though invited to speak at the Equal Rights Association campaign in New York in Winter, 1866, there is strong evidence that she did not participate.

Shadd Cary distinguished herself as a feminist, successfully arguing for her right to participate in an election in the nation's capitol in 1874. She addressed the National Woman's Suffrage Association Convention in 1878 and toward the end of the century, vigorously campaigned for women's rights through the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association, which she organized in 1880.[44]

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was the only black woman to speak at the Equal Rights Association founding in 1866.[45] While she actively campaigned for women's rights, her priority remained the uplift of the race. To that end she organized Sunday schools, worked for temperance among blacks and was a co-founder of the National Association of Colored Women.[46] While there is little evidence that Sarah was active in Women's Rights organizations, as a successful physician, she presented a positive image of black womanhood to all who met her. American women who traveled to Italy in the 1870s marveled at Remond's success and spoke positively of her character. Elizabeth Buffum Chace wished that more white American women would conduct themselves half as well as Remond. According to Chace, the result would have been a more positive image of American womanhood.

There were many voices, more than could be reviewed here, that joined the chorus calling for emancipation of the slaves and equality for free people of color. Some were louder than others. Some chose to confine themselves to their immediate localities, while others traversed the Northern states imparting their messages to those who would hear. In some ways, Sarah Remond may have paled in comparison to some of these women on the home front. But she did something that none of them attempted. She embarked on a global mission, spreading the message of the evils of slavery and the taint of prejudice which had infected American society to the European continent. She helped revive a British anti-slavery campaign in eclipse and raised desperately needed funds for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Her presence in Europe certainly was an example to the

people of that continent of what an African-American woman could achieve if given equal opportunity. Much of what she said was no different from other voices in the land, but her choice of location distinguished her from the rest.

Sarah Remond's dedication to the abolitionist movement, and her genuine concern for the future of people of African descent, was born of a family which fostered activism. Her role as a public figure was important to the process of gaining foreign support for emancipation. It was also unique because she had the moral and financial support of entire family at a time when society stigmatized women who would step outside of perceived gender roles on the name of a cause dominated by men. While history informs us that there were other women, black and white, who had pioneered the lecture circuit, Sarah Remond did not imitate or replicate their rhetoric. Unlike the Grimke sisters and Maria Stewart, who entered the public arena in the 1830s, Remond did not have to brave disapproving hisses.

Though her European audiences were unaccustomed to seeing women on the lectern, her choice of words, genteel appearance, soft voice and intelligent, self-assured delivery met with the approval of Victorian Englishmen. During her time as an orator, she was accepted on the basis of her abilities, and not solely judged by the color of her skin - a problem she continuously encountered in the States. Her choice of Europe as the venue for championing equal rights for people of African descent helped to open doors for women like Ida B. Wells Barnett who lectured in England on the evils of lynching in the late 1800s.

Perhaps the realization that the freedmen would never be placed "redeemed and disenthralled upon the world-wide platform of a common humanity," added to the bitterness Sarah Remond felt about her early encounters with prejudice and discrimination. The acceptance she found in Europe gave her the opportunity to live out her life in the atmosphere of freedom she had envisioned for people of African descent in America. The legacy of her anti-slavery work and her family's accomplishments are a compelling example of hard work and determination.

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